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WILLIAM BLAKE'S ILLUMINATED BOOKS

A CENSUS

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A CENSUS

compiled by

GEOFFREY KEYNES AND EDWIN WOLF 2ND

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PREFACE

A CENSUS of Blake's 'Illuminated Books' was included as Section E in my *Bibliography of Blake*, printed for the Grolier Club of New York in 1921. I commented then on the fact that to complete the task of tracing all the existing copies was clearly impossible, since a number of them were certain to have been temporarily lost to view and would only appear again too late for inclusion in my book. In the thirty-two years that have elapsed since the *Bibliography* was issued this suggestion has been fully confirmed. Many more copies of the books have come to light, and as they attracted my notice in private hands or passed through the sale rooms I have lost no opportunity of making full descriptions of them, and of recording their provenance. I have also been able to re-examine others, or see them myself for the first time, during visits made to the United States of America. Even so it was plain, when I formed the project of making a revision of the census, that I could not do this satisfactorily unless I had an expert collaborator in the United States, since so large a proportion of the books had found their way over there. I was therefore exceedingly fortunate in being able to interest Edwin Wolf 2nd in the matter and to persuade him to undertake with me the work of revision by dealing with the books on his side of the Atlantic. Mr Wolf was already a Blake scholar by virtue of the work he had done in preparing the catalogue of the great Blake exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1939, where he had the great advantage of being able to compare several copies of many of the books. He also possessed through his natural instincts and his profession a mind attuned to the niceties of accurate bibliography. The preparation of this new census of Blake's work has occupied a number of years, both Mr Wolf and I having other occupations which could not be denied, he as a bookseller and I as a surgeon; but this did not disturb me, since I knew from long experience that no bibliographical work will gain by being hurried. The record will always be more nearly complete the longer it takes, and so it has proved to be in the present instance. In reprinting this section of the Bibliography as a separate publication it has also seemed to be worth while to include in

a revised form the introduction which appeared as part of the Bibliographical Preface in 1921.

Nearly all Blake's writings were published in a form which was developed and first used by him about the year 1788. He called the process 'Illuminated Printing', and this name well indicates its character. The books are commonly referred to as 'the engraved books', but this is inaccurate, as the process is essentially one of relief etching. J. T. Smith, a friend of the Blake family, relates that Blake,

> after deeply perplexing himself as to the mode of accomplishing the publication of his illustrated songs, without their being subject to the expense of letter-press, his brother Robert stood before him in one of his visionary imaginations, and so decidedly directed him in the way in which he ought to proceed, that he immediately followed his advice, by writing his poetry, and drawing his marginal subjects of embellishments in outline upon the copper-plate with an impervious liquid, and then eating the plain parts or lights away with aquafortis considerably below them, so that the outlines were left as a stereotype.[1]

Robert died in 1787; but the idea was probably in William Blake's mind some years before this, for a passage in *An Island in the Moon*, written about 1784, evidently refers to the 'Illuminated Printing'. The first part of the passage is unfortunately missing from the manuscript, and it begins abruptly as follows:

> . . . 'thus Illuminating the Manuscript.'
>
> 'Ay,' said she, 'that would be excellent.'
>
> 'Then,' said he, 'I would have all the writing Engraved instead of Printed, & at every other leaf a high-finishd print;—all in three Volumes folio—& sell them a hundred pounds apiece. They would print off two thousand.'

It is, however, quite possible that the first idea was suggested to Blake by someone else, and in this connexion it is of great interest to find that he was to some extent anticipated by George Cumberland, who wrote to his brother Richard early in 1784 as follows:

> The occasion of my writing to-day is to send you the enclosed specimen of my new mode of Printing—it is the amusement of an evening and is capable of printing 2000 if I wanted them—you see here one page which is executed as easily as writing and the Cost is trifling for your Copper is worth at any rate near as much as it cost besides you are not obliged to print any more than you want at one time, so that if the Work don't take you have nothing to

[1] *Nollekens and his Times*, 1828, ii, 461.

do but to cut the Copper to pieces or clean it.—But if it does, you may print 4 editions, 2000, and then sell the Plates as well. All this would be [. . .] much if there was not some difficulty. A work [thus] printed can only be read with the help of a looking Glass as the letters are reversed. . .however we have a remedy for this defect also, for in printing 20 we can have 20 more right by only taking off the impression while wet—in fact this is only etching words instead of Landscapes, but nobody has yet thought of the utility of it that I know of; the expense of this page is 1/6 without reckoning time, wh. was never yet worth much to authors, and the Copper is worth 1/0 again when cut up. In my next I will tell you more and make you also an engraver of this sort, till when keep it to yourself.[1]

It is not known when Blake first made Cumberland's acquaintance, but his earliest letter to him is dated 6 December 1795, and the manner of address in this letter makes it probable that they had met some time before this. There is no evidence that either of the Cumberlands attended the *salons* in Rathbone Place, at the house of Mrs Mathew, whose guests are supposed to have been satirized by Blake in *An Island in the Moon*, but it is within the bounds of possibility; the passage from this work already quoted, with its reference to the 'engraved writing' (though it was really *etched*) and the printing off of 2000 copies, may well have been based on conversations concerning Cumberland's discovery heard by Blake at one of these gatherings. The manuscript is believed to belong to 1784, the same year as Cumberland's letter to his brother.

At whatever date it may have been that Blake first thought of his new method of book production, it is clear that he did not use it before 1788. For this we have the authority of his own statement in the colophon to *The Ghost of Abel*, issued in 1822: 'Blake's Original Stereotype was 1788.' It is still uncertain whether this refers to the first plates of the *Songs of Innocence* or to the plates of *There is No Natural Religion*. It is probable that Blake wrote out a full description of this and other technical processes invented by him, for he refers to 'an account of my various Inventions in Art, for which I have procured a Publisher' in a letter to George Cumberland, dated 19 December 1808, but the work seems never to have been completed and is not known to have survived in any form.

[1] *The Cumberland Letters*, edited by Clementina Black, London: Secker, 1912, pp. 317–18. Cumberland also described his method of etching in a short article in Henry Maty's *New Review*, vol. VI, 1784, p. 318. See Mona Wilson's *Life of Blake*, 1927, p. 318.

The essence of Blake's process was the reversal of the ordinary intaglio method used by Cumberland, the whites being etched instead of the darks, so that the text and designs stood out on the plate in relief as a stereotype. The text, according to J. T. Smith, was written on the metal and the designs drawn on it with a brush with some medium impervious to acid. Cumberland, being only an amateur engraver and etcher, speaks in his description of having to use a mirror to read the print, that is he had written the text on the copper in the ordinary way. On the other hand Blake, the professional, would be practised in the art of writing backwards on the copper, so that the print would come out the right way round. Nevertheless the labour of writing out the text of a long poem such as *Jerusalem* in this way would be immense, and it has been suggested more than once that the writing may have been done in the first place on paper and then transferred while still 'wet' to the copper by pressing the paper on to its surface. The exact composition of the fluid that Blake used is not known, but it was presumably some kind of stopping-out varnish. This method was used in the earliest books, including *There is No Natural Religion*, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, *Thel*, and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. By 1793, however, Blake had evolved a modification of his original process which he himself called 'wood-cutting on copper', and this he used in conjunction with the first method in most of the works issued after this date. The second method is best described in Blake's own words, taken from some memoranda written on page 10 of the Notebook (Rossetti MS.).

Memorandum

To Woodcut on Pewter. lay a ground on the Plate & smoke it as for Etching. then trace your outlines and beginning with the spots of light on each object with an oval pointed needle[1] scrape off the ground, as a direction for your graver then proceed to graving with the ground on the plate being as careful as possible not to hurt the ground because it being black will shew perfectly what is wanted.

Memorandum

To Woodcut on Copper. Lay a ground as for Etching, trace, &c., & instead of Etching the blacks etch the Whites, & bite it in.

[1] Mr John Buckland Wright points out to me that this instrument is the French *echoppe* used by Callot. By turning the point lines can be broadened in imitation of an engraved line, and whites cleared away.

This process differs from the first in that the plate was first covered with a ground, and then the parts to be etched, that is to say the white areas and lines of the designs, were scraped off with a pointed instrument; the area intended for the text was then denuded of ground and the text written on the metal (or transferred to it) as already described. Finally the whole plate was etched with acid. The combination of the two methods was used in *America* and in *Europe*, and also in the later books, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. If the pages of an uncoloured copy of *Jerusalem* be closely examined it will be found quite easy to distinguish by the quality of the outlines those designs that were drawn with a brush from those that were done by the method of 'wood-cutting on copper'. The process called by Blake 'wood-cutting on pewter', which depended on the use of a graver instead of an etching with an acid, was occasionally used in the Illuminated Books (see p. 102); it is also believed to have been used for the broadside, *Little Tom the Sailor*, and in the print known as 'The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour'.

The plates of the illuminated books were printed in an ordinary press, but it was no doubt a slow and laborious process, as was first pointed out by John Jackson in his *Treatise on Wood Engraving*. 'As it was difficult,' he writes, 'according to Blake's process, to corrode the large white parts to a depth sufficient to prevent their being touched by the dauber or ball in the process of inking, and thus presenting a soiled appearance in the impression, he was accustomed to wipe the ink out where it had touched in the hollows.'[1] This was not, however, his invariable practice. It is quite evident, for instance, in some copies of *Jerusalem* that he obtained his high-lights by wiping out part only of the hollows, so that a granulated effect, giving a gradation of lights, was obtained from the remainder. It is also certain that he sometimes gouged out the metal from the larger hollows so that no ink from them would reach the paper. None of the original copper plates has survived to the present day, except for a small fragment, but sixteen of the plates for the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* were in existence in 1863 and electrotypes were made from them for the first edition of Gilchrist's *Life*. These electrotypes are still in the possession of the printers, Messrs Clay and Son of Bungay, as

[1] Jackson and Chatto, *Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 1839, p. 716.

was first discovered by the late Laurence Binyon, and duplicate sets have been made for me.[1] These are exact reproductions of Blake's plates and it is quite clear where Blake used the gouge.

It is plain that Blake also used his graver extensively on the plates after they had been etched. This can be detected on a few plates of which there are different 'states' for examination. It is also conspicuous in the plates for the *Songs*, in which Blake has applied the graver to lighten the effect in the *Songs of Innocence*, but has left the designs harsh and heavy in the *Songs of Experience*.

The relief etching was used in all the illuminated books with the exception of two, *The Book of Los* and *The Book of Ahania*; in these the text is executed by the ordinary process of etching.

The whole number of etched plates that Blake accumulated must have been considerable, for the printing of the various books was done at intervals over a long period of years, and it is probable that almost the whole stock was in the possession of Blake's widow for several years after his death. Mrs Blake does not seem to have made use of them, but when at her death Blake's stocks passed into the keeping of Frederick Tatham, several of the sets of plates were taken out and a few impressions made from them. Posthumous copies, as will be seen, of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, *Europe*, *America*, and *Jerusalem* were all printed about 1832, and are recorded below. The plates are said then to have been stolen and sold as old metal, and their value from this point of view was no doubt considerable. The only relic of the original copper plates that I have seen, now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, is a fragment of plate a of *America*, the first of the three cancelled plates.[2] It was found in an old engraving cabinet once the property of young Butts,[3] to whom Blake had endeavoured to teach the elements of engraving, and has a crude engraving by the pupil on the other side of the copper.

It is of interest to notice that Blake reduced at once the bulk and expense of the plates by etching each on both sides. This is shown by the presence on a

[1] One of these sets is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England.

[2] Described in the Philadelphia Exhibition *Catalogue*, 1939, no. 68.

[3] A school-fellow of Seymour Kirkup; see *Rossetti Papers*, 1903, p. 178, and an article in the *Connoisseur*, 1907 (no. 577), by a sister of Mrs Butts.

number of prints of the plate-maker's mark, which was presumably stamped on one side of the plate only. In the copies of the books issued by Blake himself this mark has usually been obliterated by the colouring, but in copies which were uncoloured, or were printed after his death, it is sometimes clearly seen, and can be deciphered as: *Jones and Pontifex, No.* 47 *Shoe Lane, London*, a firm represented until recently by Messrs H. Pontifex & Sons, Limited, Engineers, 43 Shoe Lane.

First drafts of three of the *Songs of Innocence* are found in the MS. of *An Island in the Moon*, and of several of the *Songs of Experience* in the Notebook. Otherwise none of the original texts of any of the Illuminated Books is known to have survived. Ideas for some of the decorations are scattered through the pages of the Notebook. Examination of the MS. of *The Four Zoas*, now in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, shows that Blake revised and altered his compositions a great deal; but once he had committed the text to copper plates it was extremely difficult to make any further alteration other than erasure of words or lines. A minor alteration has been detected on plate 37 of *Jerusalem*, where he has changed *pale* to *blue* by removing parts of letters from the stereotype. Any more extensive alteration could only be done by making another plate, and this he did when he re-etched three plates of *America*. Occasionally part of a plate was masked by being covered with paper when it was being printed, as was done for plate 2 in some copies of *America*, and additions were made by engraving white lines, as in *Europe*.

Often, however, Blake varied the constitution of a book in different copies, plates being added or subtracted at different periods or the order being changed. Thus the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* underwent a series of changes between 1789 and 1818, both in constitution and arrangement. Plate 4 of *Urizen* was included in only three of the seven copies known; five plates of *Milton* are found in only two of the four copies known; plate iii of *Europe* is found in only two of the twelve copies known. No doubt Blake had his reasons, sometimes no longer to be discovered, for thus altering his books, and it is clear that the ordinary standards of technical 'perfection' cannot be applied to such individual productions. Also the colouring of the books was done at intervals, sometimes of many years, and is never quite the same in any

two copies. Here again there can be no definite standard of merit; the estimation of this must depend on the taste of the observer.

It follows from the foregoing remarks that, in attempting a bibliographical description of the Illuminated Books, it was useless merely to give details of each book from some one copy that happened to be readily available. Nothing less sufficed than a page-by-page description of an ideal copy supposed to contain all the plates, together with full details of every existing copy that could be traced, and in the following pages this plan has been pursued as far as possible. The inception of this task was due to a suggestion made to me in 1911 by the late Dr John Sampson of Liverpool University, who had himself made a beginning by describing in detail some of the copies of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* in his edition of the *Poetical Works*, 1905. The approximate completion of the task here attained has only been made possible by the help of Mr Wolf, and by the invariable courtesy of the owners of the books both in Great Britain and America.

The gathering of these details concerning the Illuminated Books is not only of value to the collector and connoisseur, but becomes of considerable importance in elucidating the little-known facts of Blake's life. It is probable that Blake's biographers have insisted too much on his poverty and hand-to-mouth existence. Since the facts were not available it was naturally forgotten that the Illuminated Books must have been a slow but steady source of income. In the following pages are collected details of nearly 160 copies of the various books, which were sold by him at prices varying from one to ten guineas; during the 160 years that have elapsed since Blake began to produce them some copies have no doubt been destroyed, and others have not yet come to light. The reward that Blake received for his books was certainly not proportionate to the genius and labour expended upon them, but they helped, nevertheless, to provide him with the means of subsistence and of carrying on his work. Three lists of Blake's works with their prices have come down to us, so that there is definite evidence as to the money he received for the books at different periods. These prices are quoted in the following pages among the notes on each book, so that the lists need not be reprinted here. They are to be found in the *Prospectus* of 10 October 1793 (see p. 49), in a letter to Dawson

Turner dated 9 June 1818, and in a letter to George Cumberland dated 12 April 1827. It appears from Blake's statements in the second of these letters that at that date he had disposed of his whole stock of books already printed with the exception of his coloured copy of *Jerusalem*, but that he was still ready to prepare copies when definitely ordered by a customer.

In summarizing the details gathered concerning each book certain generalizations can be made, which are sometimes of help in assigning a date to any particular copy. For these, reference must be made to the notes printed in the pages following. In addition some still broader principles emerge. It is evident that Blake never printed more than a small number of copies of any book at a time, for he varied the ground tint in which the plates were printed almost as much as he did the subsequent illumination. He used various shades of brown, yellow, sepia, green, blue, grey, or black; sometimes the colour may vary among the constituent plates of one copy. Usually the printing was done in monochrome; but some of the plates of the small dogmatic works on Natural Religion appear to have been printed in more than one colour. Blake also experimented with a more elaborate form of colour printing, using thick opaque pigments, producing a granulated effect when the paper was pulled off the plate. The resulting prints were then usually worked up with water-colour washes in addition. A few copies of the *Songs of Experience* and the prints in the *Books of Designs* were done in this way. In one book, *The Song of Los*, he confined himself entirely to the opaque medium, the exact composition of which remains unknown, though it did not contain oil.

Gilchrist makes such precise statements about Blake's use of water-colours that it must be supposed he had first-hand information from the artist's friends:

> He ground and mixed his water-colours himself on a piece of statuary marble after a method of his own, with common carpenter's glue diluted, which he had found out, as the early Italians had done before him, to be a good binder. Joseph, the sacred carpenter, had appeared in vision and revealed *that* secret to him. The colours he used were few and simple: indigo, cobalt, gamboge, vermilion, Frankfort-black freely, ultramarine rarely, chrome not at all. These he applied with a camel's-hair brush, not with a sable, which he disliked.[1]

Blake's use of water-colours in his Illuminated Books is, indeed, worthy of careful study, but it can only be briefly considered here. Perhaps the most

[1] *Life*, 1880, i, p. 70.

comprehensive view could be obtained by a survey of the colouring in the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, beginning with the separate issues of the *Songs of Innocence*, since Blake completed more copies of these than of any other book and worked at them over a longer period. The earlier copies are coloured with extreme simplicity, but as the years passed Blake's taste for elaboration grew, the copies done after the period ending about 1800 being much more carefully finished than those done earlier. It was chiefly from 1815 until the end of his life that he heightened the effect with the use of gold. The quality of the colouring in the Illuminated Books varies as much as the method, and when the quality is poor there has been a tendency to ascribe it to the hand of Mrs Blake. This is necessarily conjectural and is perhaps unfair to the memory of a devoted wife. Gilchrist refers to her share in the work several times. In the course of his remarks on the *Songs of Innocence* he writes: 'He [Blake] taught Mrs Blake to take off the impressions with care and delicacy, which such plates signally needed; and also to help in tinting them from his drawings with right artistic feeling'.[1] Again in describing the combined issue of the *Songs*, he says: 'The early, low-priced copies,—Flaxman's for instance—though slighter in colour, possess a delicacy of feeling, a freshness of execution, often lost in the richer, more laboured examples, especially in those finished after the artist's death by his widow. One of the latter I have noticed, very full and heavy in colour, the tints laid on with a strong and indiscriminating touch.'[2] William Hayley had seen Mrs Blake at work and wrote to Lady Hesketh in July 1802, 'the good woman not only does all the work of the House, but she even makes the greater part of her Husband's dress, and assists him in *his Art*'.[3] There can, therefore, be no doubt that Mrs Blake did sometimes have a hand in the colouring of the books, though it is impossible to identify her work with any certainty.

In assigning dates to the various copies of the books it has been of great assistance to record carefully the watermarks found in the paper on which they are printed. In many copies no watermark can be seen, as it has been cut off with the marginal parts of the leaves, or rendered invisible by the colouring,

[1] *Life*, p. 70. [2] Ibid. p. 122.
[3] Morchard Bishop, *Blake's Hayley*, 1951, p. 279.

especially if this were done with opaque pigments. In a great many copies, however, the watermarks, or at any rate, parts of them, can be deciphered. The one most commonly found is that of J WHATMAN with or without date; it is evident that Blake bought this manufacturer's paper at intervals, the following dates being found in the watermark: 1794, 1804, 1808, 1818–21 and 1824–26. With a single exception no watermark except that of J WHATMAN is found after 1815, and the same paper, dated 1831 or 1832, was used for those books of which copies were printed after Blake's death. Another watermark found with relative frequency is that of I TAYLOR, usually without a date, but sometimes in conjunction with 1794 (*All Religions are One*, *Thel*, copy F, and *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, copies A and R), and in three other instances (*Urizen*, copy B, and *Europe*, copies B and C) associated with other paper dated 1794. It is probable, therefore, that most of the books with the watermark I TAYLOR are to be assigned to about the year 1794. In several books Blake has used a paper made by EDMEAD & PINE, whose names appear in the watermark in two books in full, together with the date 1802 (*Songs of Innocence*, copies P and Q). More usually, their watermark appears as E & P without a date, but in two books (*Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, copies B and C) this watermark is found associated with leaves bearing the watermark of I TAYLOR. As there are other reasons for believing that these books belong to 1794, I have thought it fair to assume that the watermark E & P also indicated the year 1794 (e.g. *America*, copies C–K). The watermark RUSE & TURNERS is found in seven works, with the dates 1812 together with the mark R & T (*America*, copy N, and *Europe*, copy I), 1815 (*Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, copies T and U, *Thel*, copies N and O, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, copy G, etc.), and 1818 (*Urizen*, copy G). Watermarks that are found only a few times are HAYES & WISE 1799 (*America*, copy M), C BALL (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, copy L), BUTTANSHAW 1802 (*Songs of Innocence*, copy O, and *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, copies P and Q), and T STAINS, with an uncertain date (*America*, copy Q, and *Europe*, copy G). A few leaves of *There is No Natural Religion* (copies G, H and I) show part of the date 1811, but as this date does not occur in any other books the rest of the watermark cannot be supplied. The various

indications supplied by the watermarks, the arrangement and constitution of the books, the character of their colouring, and their personal associations, have made it possible to assign an approximate date to almost every one of Blake's Illuminated Books of which we have been able to obtain a detailed description. It is probable that, as descriptions are obtained of books which are at present untraced or quite unknown, still greater accuracy in dating copies will be attained. Mr Thomas Balston reminds me, however, that no date other than 1794 was used in paper made by the firm of Whatman until after 1800, and that no paper made before 1794 has any date at all. At a later period the date was changed for each year in which the paper was made, but caution must always be used in making use of watermarks for the dating of the books containing them.

There is no record of the original ownership of a great many of the copies of the Illuminated Books, but such facts as have been gathered show that among Blake's best customers for them were Thomas Butts, Isaac D'Israeli, George Cumberland, and John Linnell. Of these, Butts, Cumberland, and Linnell, being among Blake's closest friends, naturally bought copies of most of his works. The association with D'Israeli, however, is curious, for he made no reference to Blake in his writings, although he felt enough interest in him about the year 1794 to buy six of his works. The *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* was evidently by far the most popular, and it seems to have attracted many customers who did not buy copies of Blake's other works. Soon after his death, and about the middle of the nineteenth century, there appeared several eager collectors of Blake's books. William Beckford acquired many of them, including most of Cumberland's copies. Benjamin Disraeli inherited his father's and may have acquired others. Frederick Locker-Lampson bought a number for the Rowfant Library. Francis Palgrave was the owner of several now in the British Museum, and a significant collection was formed by Thomas Gaisford. The most important collection of all was that gathered by Richard Monckton Milnes, first Lord Houghton, who acquired among others several of the Butts copies when these were sold in 1852. In more recent years B. B. Macgeorge of Glasgow brought together a notable collection. The earliest American collector to take an interest in Blake's books

was E. W. Hooper of Boston. He was followed in chronological order by Robert Hoe who began buying soon after 1890, and by W. A. White of New York who from the turn of the century onwards formed the largest collection of Blake's works that has been made. White took full advantage of the dispersal of the Monckton Milnes books by the Earl of Crewe in 1903, and his collection was remarkable in containing more than one copy of several of the books, so that Blake's different periods of colouring were represented. This collection was largely dispersed after White's death, though some of the books have remained in the possession of his children, most of them belonging to his daughter, Mrs Frances White Emerson. In the first quarter of this century fine series were collected by Henry E. Huntington and J. Pierpont Morgan, and soon after others were acquired by A. Edward Newton and Professor Chauncey B. Tinker. Mr Lessing J. Rosenwald has made the largest collection now in America, which he has given to the Library of Congress, and Mrs Landon K. Thorne has an important group. There are no private collections in Great Britain which can rival these, but a good series can be seen in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. There is also a notable collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, where the best of those books formerly belonging to Blake's friend, John Linnell, are to be seen. These were bequeathed by T. H. Riches, who, having married Linnell's granddaughter, acquired them at the Linnell sale in 1918.

This revision of the census has entailed a reconsideration of the chronological ordering of the copies. New letters have therefore had to be assigned to many copies, but the old letters have always been added in square brackets, so that no confusion need arise. Copies of forty-three books that were not recorded in the census of 1921 have asterisks added to their letters, and the descriptions of many others have been revised and completed.

Edwin Wolf and I wish to record our gratitude to the owners, librarians and booksellers who have done all in their power to assist us in the compilation of this census.

GEOFFREY KEYNES

LONDON
January 1953

THERE IS NO NATURAL RELIGION series a and b [about 1788]

a. There | is No | Natural | Religion

DESCRIPTION

Title, frontispiece, Argument, 3 pls., Propositions i–vi, 6 pls., Conclusion, 1 pl. = 10 plates, about 5 × 4 cm., relief-etching, printed in three colours, some plates touched with water-colour.

CONTENTS

1. Title-page. *There* | *is No* | *Natural* | *Religion*, on a Gothic door, with small figures in niches. 5·3 × 4·1 cm.

2. Frontispiece. An old man and a woman are seated at the left beneath the branches of a tree which stands on the right; two nude youths stand in front of them. Lettered below, in reversed writing: *The Author & Printer W Blake.* 5·4 × 4·5 cm.

3. *The Argument* | *Man has no notion of moral* | *fitness but from Education* | *Naturally he is only a natu* | *-ral organ subject to Sense.* A mother, seated among trees, reads from a book to two children, one standing, the other reclining, both with books. 5·2 × 4·3 cm.

4. *I. Man cannot naturally Per* | *-ceive but through his natural* | *or bodily organs.* An aged man leans on a staff beneath a tree; his dog is at his feet. 5·2 × 4·3 cm.

5. *II. Man by his reason* | *ing power can only* | *compare & judge of* | *what he has already* | *perceiv'd.* A kneeling woman holds a child, which stretches out its arms after a bird (cf. Young's *Night Thoughts*, pl. 7); a tree stands on the left. 5 × 4·1 cm.

6. *III. From a perception of* | *only* 3 *senses or* 3 *ele* | *ments none could de* | *duce a fourth or fifth.* A nude man is seated on the ground beneath a vine which rises on the right and runs across the top; a winged boy stands at his side. 5 × 3·8 cm.

7. *IV. None could have other* | *than natural or organic* | *thoughts if he had none* | *but organic perceptions.* A shepherd is seated on the ground to the left piping; trees in the background, birds overhead. 4·8 × 4 cm.

8. *V. Mans desires are* | *limited by his percepti* | *ons, none can de* | *sire which he has not* | *perceivd.* A boy stretches out his hands towards a swan on the water; a tree on the left arches over the text. 4·8 × 3·5 cm.

9. *VI. The desires & percepti* | *-ons of man untaught by* | *any thing but organs of* | *sense must be limited* | *to objects of sense.* An old man reclines in long grass reading a book (cf. *All Religions are One*, pl. 3); a tree on the right arches over the text. 3·6 × 4·4 cm.

10. *Conclusion.* | *If it were not for the* | *Poetic or Prophetic* | *character the Philo* | *sophic & Experimen* | *-tal would soon be* | *at the ratio of all* | *things, & stand still* | *unable to do other* | *than repeat the same* | *dull round over a-* | *gain.* No figured decoration. 5·5 × 4·2 cm.

[b. There | is No | Natural Religion]

DESCRIPTION

Title, frontispiece, 2 pls., Propositions I–VII, 7 pls., Application, 2 pls. = 11 plates, about 6 × 4 cm., relief-etching, printed in three colours, one or more plates touched with water-colour.

CONTENTS

1. [Title-page not known. Presumably the same as for series a.]

2. Frontispiece. A robed figure stands with his left arm outstretched over a nude man, who is half reclining on the ground (cf. Young's *Night Thoughts*, pl. 40). 5·3 × 3·9 cm.

3. *I. Mans percepti- | -ons are not bound | -ed by organs of | perception he per- | ceives more than | sense (tho' ever | so acute) can | discover.* An old man reads reclining on the ground. 5·9 × 4·4 cm.

4. *II. Reason or the ra- | tio of all we have | already known is | not the same that | it shall be when | we know more.* A figure lies prone on the ground. 5·9 × 4·4 cm.

5. [No copy of Proposition III appears to have survived.]

6. *IV. The bounded is | loathed by its pos- | -sessor. The same | dull round even | of a univer[s]e would | soon become a | mill with complica- | ted wheels.* Small decorations. 6·4 × 4·3 cm.

7. *V. If the many be- | come the same as | the few, when pos- | sess'd, More! More! | is the cry of a mis | -taken soul, less than | All cannot satisfy | Man.* Small decorations. 5·8 × 4 cm.

8. *VI. If any could de- | sire what he is in- | capable of posses- | sing, despair must | be his eternal | lot.* A nude figure is seated on the ground in an attitude of despair (cf. *Urizen*, pl. 4). 5·5 × 4·2 cm.

9. *VII. The desire of | Man being Infi- | nite the possession | is Infinite & him- | self Infinite.* A nude figure with outstretched arms rises out of clouds. 6 × 4·2 cm.

10. *Application | He who sees the In- | finite in all things | sees God. He who | sees the Ratio only | sees himself only.* An old man kneels on the ground and draws with a pair of compasses (cf. frontispiece to *Europe* and colour-printed drawing of Newton, both of which have the symbol of the compass used similarly). 5 × 4·1 cm.

11. *Therefore | God becomes as | we are, that we | may be as he | is.* A nude figure with a halo lies supine on the ground; vine tendrils run in the text. 6·1 × 4·6 cm.

NOTE

Very little is definitely known about the actual date of these brief philosophical tractates, but it is generally supposed that they were the first books to be produced by Blake's new method of relief-etching. Artistically, the books show the defects of a new and unfamiliar medium, and Russell comments on their 'somewhat tentative and experimental aspect'. No existing copy corresponds in constitution or arrangement with either of the two series, a or b, described above. Thus copies A, B, and C consist of eight plates from series a and three from series b, although copy C consisted originally of only eight plates altogether. Other copies vary from eight to ten plates each; one (G), recently made up, has twelve and another (L) had fourteen, though four are at present separated from it. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that Blake had intended the plates to take the form set out above.[1]

[1] Sloss and Wallis, *The Prophetic Writings*, 1926, i, 4, place b 11 as the final plate of series a.

There is No Natural Religion

Until 1886 the two copies A and C were the only ones that were generally known, and the sentences were usually printed as they are found in copy A. About that time, however, William Muir obtained prints of seven additional plates, a10, b2, b6–10, and with these to fill the gaps Blake's original intention became evident, since the different styles of lettering made it possible to separate the plates into two series. Muir incorporated the new plates in his admirable facsimile of 1886, arranging the plates almost exactly as above, although plate 5 of series b was still missing, and has, indeed, not yet come to light. Associated with Muir's set was another print, which he used as a title-page for series b, but was certainly intended by Blake to be the title-page of a companion work, *All Religions are One* (see p. 7).

Muir's set of the original prints, including seven plates of which no other impressions are known, disappeared for many years and only appeared again in 1953 (see copy L). This set proves to have consisted of fourteen plates and to be printed in green on larger paper than any other with watermark I TAYLOR (used by Blake about 1794) as in copy B. Some of the smaller sets have plates printed in green, but most of them are in brown with overprintings in dark brown or black. Some are lightly touched with water-colours or neutral washes. The paper used has no watermark except for TAYLOR in sets B and L, and two or three figures of the date 1811 in three sets, H, I, J. This variation is peculiar in relation to the uniformity, except in set L, of the printing, colouring and size, which suggests that they were executed about the same time. Yet the facts that there is no contemporary mention of the book and that the early history of no copy is known, imply that Blake never sold or gave away any copy in his lifetime. There are records that a batch of sheets was sold to Monckton Milnes in 1862, and another pile bought by Stopford A. Brooke and R. A. Potts. The situation is complicated by the recent discovery that Muir made use of a rough-surfaced laid paper with watermark J WHATMAN 1811 for proofs of his facsimiles, but these are easily distinguished from originals if they are put side by side. Re-examination of the T. J. Wise copy (H) shows that it is undoubtedly an original set in spite of the watermark.

Textually, the work enunciates Blake's belief in the mystic character of man and the illusionary character of matter as opposed to the deification of reason and nature (hence, *There is No* Natural *Religion*), supported by his friends, Paine and Godwin, in accordance with the philosophic propositions of Locke and Hartley. In feeling they show the influence of Swedenborg, a member of whose Church of New Jerusalem Blake was at the time, and still more of the German mystic, Jakob Boehme, whose writings he had read in Law's translation. In form they are modelled on Lavater's *Aphorisms*, a book he valued highly, underlining and annotating his copy of the 1788 edition for which he had engraved a frontispiece after Fuseli. A third series of similar plates, apparently produced at the same time, is described under the next entry.

COPIES

A 11 plates on 11 leaves. No watermark. Printed in olive-green, brown and black. The first and last plates touched with water-colours. Arrangement: a3, b3, a5–9, a4, b4, b11, a2. Size: 13·5 × 11 cm., now mounted on leaves 24 × 17·5 cm. Bound in morocco, g.e.

F. T. Palgrave's copy, presented by him in 1878 to the British Museum Print Room.

B 11 plates on 11 leaves. Watermark TAYLOR, on one leaf. Printed in shades of brown and grey. Frontispiece painted with simple water-colours; the other plates touched up with neutral wash. Arrangement: a2–9, b11, b3–4. Size: 13·5 × 10·5 cm. Bound in russia, g.e., with the Milnes crest on front cover.

Fifty prints with 'some duplicates' were sold at Sotheby's, 29 April 1862 (lot 197, R. Monckton Milnes, 16*s*.), from which this copy, and probably several of the existing sets, were made up. This set was in the possession of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and was sold by his son, the Earl of Crewe, at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 10, Quaritch, £53). It was acquired by William A. White, and obtained in 1927 by his daughter, Mrs William Emerson, who sold it in 1941 through Gannon for $2100 to Paul Mellon, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 38; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 4.

C 11 plates on 11 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green, black and brown. Frontispiece and two following plates simply painted with water-colours. Foliated in pencil, not by Blake. Arrangement: a1–5, b4, b11, b3, a6, a8–9. Size: 13·3 × 10·5 cm., title-page inlaid. Bound in green levant morocco, gilt, g.e., by F. Bedford.

Frederick Locker-Lampson's copy, with his book-plate, and pencil notes by him on the fly-leaves, stating that the title-page and last two leaves were added by him on 26 July 1878. In the corner of a fly-leaf is stamped B. M. PICKERING. Bought with Locker-Lampson's Rowfant Library by Dodd, Mead and Co., and by them sold to William A. White on 27 April 1905. Sold with much of the White Collection to Rosenbach in 1929. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C. 1876, no. 310; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 5.

D 9 plates on 9 leaves. No watermark. Printed in olive-green, black and brown. Frontispiece lightly painted with water-colours. Pl. a5 has a note in ink, not by Blake, *W. Blake S.* Consists of a1–2, a5–9, b3, b11. Size: 14 × 11 cm. Formerly bound in boards; now unbound and matted, in case.

Formerly in the collection of E. W. Hooper, of Boston. Inherited by his daughter, Mrs Greely S. Curtis, and in 1941 given by her in memory of her father to Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1891, no. 9; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 6.

E 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in light brown. Lightly painted with water-colours, pls. a2 and a4 more elaborately than the rest. Consists of a2–4, a8–9, b3–4, b11. Size: 14 × 11·5 cm., uncut. Loose in wrappers.

Formerly in the possession of Stopford A. Brooke, who with R. A. Potts many years ago bought a pile of leaves of *There is No Natural Religion* in a shop in Edinburgh, from which this and other copies were put together. Sold with the Brooke library at Sotheby's, 27 July 1917 (lot 791, Tregaskis, £38). Acquired by Frank Rinder, and now in the possession of Mrs Rinder.

F 9 plates on 9 leaves. No watermark. Printed in various shades of brown and grey. First three plates simply painted with water-colours, the remaining plates slightly touched up with neutral wash. Pl. a7 is inscribed, 'Drawing by Wm. Blake given me by Mr Tatham'. Consists of a2–4, a7–9, b3–4, b11. Size: 13·8 × 10·9 cm., uncut. Loose, in brown paper wrappers.

Formerly in the collection of R. A. Potts (see copy E), and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 20 February 1913 (lot 65, Tregaskis, £13). Acquired by Col. Henry D. Hughes, and sold, with leaf a7 added, at the American Art Association, 22 April 1924 (lot 59, A. E. Newton, $600). Sold with the library of A. Edward Newton at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 153, Rosenbach, $1500). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 7.

G* 12 plates on 12 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown and black. The second, third, fourth and tenth plates touched with light water-colours. Consists of a1–9, b3–4, b11. Size 13·7 × 11 cm. Matted, in half-morocco case.

Part of the parcel of fifty prints bought by Richard Monckton Milnes in 1862, see copy B. Later in the possession of his son the Earl of Crewe. Acquired in 1952 through Scribner's by The Pierpont Morgan Library. With this set came sixteen duplicate plates (a3, three; a4, three; a5, one; a6, three; a9, one; b3, three; b11, two), which will probably be made available for improving other copies, such as copy D.

H 10 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark [18]11, on one leaf. Printed in shades of brown.
[G] Lightly painted with water-colours, the frontispiece more elaborately than the rest. Arrangement: a1–4, b4, b11, b3, a8–9, a5. Size: 14 × 11·5 cm., uncut. Bound in brown morocco, inlaid, by Riviere.

Formerly in the Ashley Library of Thomas J. Wise, and bequeathed by him in 1938 to the British Museum.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 72.

I 10 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark [1]811, on three leaves. Printed in shades of brown.
[H] First three plates lightly painted with water-colours, the rest touched with black ink. Consists of: a2–4, a8–9, b3–4, b11, with duplicates of a9 and b11. Size: 14 × 11·5 cm. Unbound, in slip case.

Formerly in the collection of H. Buxton Forman. Sold with his library at Anderson's, 15 March 1920 (lot 48, Rosenbach, $625). Offered for sale by Rosenbach, Cat. 20, 1920, no. 9. Acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 13, Rosenbach, $1000). Now in the possession of Mrs Landon K. Thorne, of New York.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 8.

J* 8 plates on 8 leaves. Watermark [1]811, on one leaf. Printed in shades of brown. The first three plates painted lightly with water-colours, the rest shaded with neutral wash. Consists of: a2–4, a8–9, b3–4, b11. Size: from 13·6 to 13·2 × 11·1 to 10·4 cm. Inlaid

to large quarto size in an extra-illustrated copy of Gilchrist's *Life*, 1863, bound in two volumes, red morocco, gilt, g.e., made not later than 1870.

Early history not known, but probably from one of the piles bought by Monckton Milnes or Brooke. Bought from Weyhe about 1930 by Allan R. Brown, and given by him in 1942 to Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 9.

K* 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in shades of brown. The first three plates painted lightly with water-colours, the rest shaded with neutral wash. Consists of: a2–4, a8–9, b3–4, b11. Size: 13·5 × 10·5. Inlaid to large quarto size in an extra-illustrated copy of Gilchrist's *Life*, 1863, bound in two volumes, crimson morocco, gilt and inlaid with green morocco, g.e.

Early history unknown, see copy I above. Formerly in the possession of George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 65, Sessler, $600). Now in the possession of Charles J. Rosenbloom, of Pittsburgh.

L* 14 plates on 14 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR on two leaves. Printed in green with brown over-printing on some and water-colours in addition. There are four framing lines in grey ink on each plate except a3, a4, a8. Consisted of a1, a3, a4, a8, a10, b2–4, b6–11. Present arrangement (1953): a1, b2–4, a10, b6–9, b11 in brown paper wrappers, and a3, a4, a8, b10 as separate leaves. All have the top edges gilt and most are numbered irregularly in ink at the top right-hand corner. Size approximately 31·5 × 23 cm.

This is the largest sequence of plates so far recorded, and contains seven plates, a10, b2, b6–10, of which no other impressions are known. They were formerly in the possession of the late William Muir, who used them for his facsimile of 1886, but were not heard of again until they were offered for sale at Sotheby's from an anonymous source on 21 July 1953. The ten leaves which had been bound by Muir in brown paper wrappers with a pencil note about the missing plate III were catalogued as a facsimile (lot 469, Schwartz, £205). The remaining four leaves were sold separately (in lot 470, Abbot, £42) and are now in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes. They were associated with five proofs of Muir's facsimile (a2, a5–7, a9) printed on rough laid paper with watermark J WHATMAN 1811, and with the only known original impression of the title-page to *All Religions are One* (see p. 8).

[M 'Eleven small stamped and water-coloured designs, with maxims on religion, etc.' In three frames. Lent to the Burlington Club exhibition in 1876 by Mrs Tulk (nos. 304–6 in Cat.), possibly to be identified with copy A above.]

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: Pickering, 1886, 11 plates, coloured; William Muir, 1886, coloured ('from three imperfect copies'); EY[1] iii, 11 plates; Harvard College Library, 1948, coloured, copy D.

[1] EY is here used throughout as the accepted abbreviation of *The Works of William Blake... with lithographs of the Illustrated Prophetic Books*, ed. E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats, 3 vols., 1893.

ALL | RELIGIONS | are | ONE [about 1788]

DESCRIPTION

Title, frontispiece, *Argument*, 3 pls., Principles 1–7, 7 pls. = 10 plates, unnumbered, about 5·5 × 4 cm.; relief etching with text and small pictorial designs.

CONTENTS

1. Title-page. *ALL* | *RELIGIONS* | *are* | *ONE*, inscribed on a stone tablet, held from behind by an angel; to the right is seated an aged man with an open book on his knee. 5·2 × 3·4 cm.

2. Frontispiece. A youthful figure, perhaps John the Baptist, nude except for a cloak over one knee, is seated on a rock beneath trees; he is pointing with both hands to the right. Below is inscribed: *The Voice of one crying in the* | *Wilderness*. 4·6 × 4·2 cm.

3. *The Argument* | *As the true meth-* | *od of knowledge* | *is experiment* | *the true faculty* | *of knowing must* | *be the faculty which* | *experiences, This* | *faculty I treat of.* Below is a figure full-length on the ground, supporting his head on one hand (cf. *There is No Natural Religion*, pl. a 9). 4·8 × 3 cm.

4. *PRINCIPLE 1st* | *That the Poetic Genius is* | *the true Man, and that* | *the body or outward form* | *of Man is derived from the* | *Poetic Genius. Likewise* | *that the forms of all things* | *are derived from their* | *Genius, which by the* | *Ancients was call'd an* | *Angel & Spirit & Demon.* Above is a seated figure of Urizen with his arms stretched out upon clouds (exactly as in *America*, pl. 8). 5·4 × 3·8 cm.

5. *PRINCIPLE 2d* | *As all men are alike in* | *outward form, So (and* | *with the same infinite* | *variety) all are alike in* | *the Poetic Genius.* Above two figures half sit on the ground and gaze upwards; below, a flock of sheep grazes; a tree rises on the left and branches over to the right. 5 × 4·5 cm.

6. *PRINCIPLE 3d* | *No man can think* | *write or speak from his* | *heart, but he must intend* | *truth. Thus all sects of* | *Philosophy are from the* | *Poetic Genius adapted* | *to the weaknesses of* | *every individual.* Above are the seated figures of two old men, one writing in a book, the other reading. 5·8 × 4 cm.

7. *PRINCIPLE 4* | *As none by trave* | *ling over known* | *lands can find out* | *the unknown. So* | *from already ac* | *quired knowledge* | *Man could not ac* | *quire more. there* | *fore an universal* | *Poetic Genius exists.* Above, a traveller with his staff moves to the right (cf. *Gates of Paradise*, pl. 14). 5·2 × 3 cm.

8. *PRINCIPLE 5* | *The Religions of all Nati* | *ons are derived from each* | *Nations different reception* | *of the Poetic Genius which* | *is every where call'd the Spi* | *rit of Prophecy.* Above within a tent a seated figure, perhaps Christ, instructs a group of children; below is the nude figure of a man running with long strides from right to left; in his hands he holds a harp. 5·7 × 4·2 cm.

9. *PRINCIPLE 6 | The Jewish & Chris- | tian Testaments are | An original derivati- | on from the Poetic Ge- | nius. this is necessary | from the confined natu | re of bodily sensation.* Above are the tablets of the Law; below, a draped figure (Jehovah-Urizen) gropes in darkness toward the right with outstretched arms. 5·5 × 3·7 cm.

10. *PRINCIPLE 7th | As all men are alike | (tho' infinitely vari | ous) So all Religions | & as all similars have | one source | The true Man is the | source he being the | Poetic Genius.* Above, two figures recline on the ground on either side, and a third appears to them in the centre with outstretched arms; below, a bird flies over dark waters. 5·5 × 3·4 cm.

NOTE

This work is similar in character to the two series of plates with the title *There is No Natural Religion* already described, but it is known only by the single copy recorded below. It is assigned to about the year 1788 for the same reasons as have already been mentioned in connexion with *There is No Natural Religion*. The only copy known to exist has the same title-page as this work, but it is evident, as was first pointed out by Sampson (1913, p. xxviii), that the plate reproduced by William Muir as the title-page of series b of *There is No Natural Religion*, bearing the words *All Religions are One*, was in reality intended by Blake to be the title-page of the present work and it is accordingly restored to this position. Sampson further suggests that the copy here described was printed by Tatham after Blake's death, but the fact that it is printed on paper which was not used by Blake after 1794, makes this suggestion improbable.

This tractate is Blake's earliest statement of the universality of poetic genius, and of his conviction that true religion is based upon and formed by such genius. This theme he developed at length in the later prophetic books, particularly in the second 'Memorable Fancy' in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*.

COPY

10 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark, 1 TAYLOR 1794, on one leaf. Title-page [*There is No Natural Religion*] printed in black; the other plates in shades of green and brown. Uncoloured; pls. 2–10 with four or five framing lines. Size: 37·4 × 26·8 cm., uncut, title-page, 34·1 × 24·4 cm. Unbound.

John Linnell's copy. Sold with his collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 203, G. D. Smith, £84). Now in the H. E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The title-page, as is explained above, does not belong to this work; it is printed more roughly than the other plates and in a different colour. It is therefore possible that it was supplied later. The original impression of the true title-page, included by Muir in his facsimile of *There is No Natural Religion*, was sold at Sotheby's 21 July 1953 (in lot 470, Abbot, £42) and is now in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes. It is printed in green and brown, touched with the pen in black, and has four framing lines in grey ink. The leaf measures 30 × 23·5 cm., and has a watermark 1 TAYLOR 1794.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION: Keynes, *Bibliography*, 1921; Frederick Holyer, 1926, plain and coloured.

SONGS | of | INNOCENCE | 1789 | The Author & Printer W Blake

Description

Frontispiece, title, 2 pls., *Songs*, 29 pls. = 31 plates, about 11 × 7 cm., relief etching, usually painted with water-colours.

Contents

As arranged in copy G:

1. [Frontispiece. The Piper]
2. [Title-page] Songs, etc.
3. Introduction
4. A Dream
5–7. The Little Girl Lost [and] The Little Girl Found
8. The Lamb
9. The Blossom
10–11. The Ecchoing Green
12. The Divine Image
13. The Chimney Sweeper
14. Infant Joy
15. The Shepherd
16–17. Night
18–19. A Cradle Song
20. The Little Boy lost
21. The Little Boy found
22. Nurse's Song
23. Holy Thursday
24. On Another's Sorrow
25–26. Spring
27. The School Boy
28. Laughing Song
29–30. The Little Black Boy
31. The Voice of the Ancient Bard

Note

Blake's earliest poems, *Poetical Sketches*, in letterpress and without illustrations, gave more than a hint of poetic genius, but yet were framed in derivative styles. The *Songs of Innocence* were his first venture into a form and content of his own. Blake had begun writing poems later included in the *Songs* before the idea of the little volume had clearly crystallized in his own mind. *The Little Boy lost*, *Nurse's Song*, and *Holy Thursday* had been woven into the MS. satire called *An Island in the Moon*, where the poems in the mouths of dilettanti accentuated the affectation and vacuity of the characters. Blake must have been conscious of the unworthiness of the setting, and under the impetus of his life's purpose he formed of them a new concept, an explanation to man of the whys and wherefores of eternity and mortality.

The *Songs of Innocence*, dated 1789, are Blake's first successful venture in the production of illustrated books. The poetry and the lovely complementary designs give voice to his delight in the state of innocence. The poems are happy lyrics, children's songs, written intuitively by one who understood that the imagination of a child is unfettered, capable of comprehending without the impediments of sophisticated reason and experience. They are the expression of joy in the world, and yet, as Wicksteed has pointed out, they are not mere

nursery rhymes. Already Blake had begun to use symbols, which when understood add overtones of philosophic meaning to songs intrinsically beautiful. Of all Blake's writings the *Songs of Innocence* have been the best loved.

All the copies known are octavo volumes, measuring about 19 × 13 cm., and copies E and G show that the leaves were originally stitched in paper covers. The earlier copies, those issued before Blake finished the *Songs of Experience*, consist of thirty-one plates when complete, and are printed on both sides of the leaf. After about 1794 Blake transferred *The Little Girl Lost* and *The Little Girl Found* (pls. 5–7) to the *Songs of Experience*, and hence separate issues of the first book after that time contain fewer plates. When other plates are missing it is difficult to say whether these copies are as issued by Blake or not. The order of the plates varies so much that there is no reason to suppose that Blake was any more consistent in the precise number which he included than he was in their arrangement. None of the earlier copies was paginated by Blake himself, and the order he intended—if indeed he ever had a set plan—is a matter of conjecture only. For lack of a definite guide, and since the order has become standard in recent years, that found in copy G (formerly A), followed by Sampson and in the *Bibliography* of 1921 has been retained. Copy G was originally stitched as issued, and hence most truely can be said to be in original condition, but since the colouring resembles that attributed to Mrs Blake the arrangement may be hers rather than her husband's.

The plates in the majority of the copies are printed in various light shades of brown, though green or blue has been used in a few instances (copies I, J, O and R); two copies (S and T) are in grey, and one copy (U), uncoloured and probably a late one, is printed in black. The colouring in all is done in water-colours, and in most of them is characterized by great simplicity; its quality varies considerably, and it has been suggested that Mrs Blake may have had a hand in some copies. The text of the *Songs of Innocence* is engraved in minuscule roman with the exception of *The Voice of the Ancient Bard* (pl. 31), which is in italic. The designs on the plates have not been described above, under the heading *Contents*, as in the later illuminated books, partly because they are too well known to need it, but also because each plate is sufficiently well distinguished by the title of the poem engraved on it, and because the designs in most cases bear a much more direct and obvious relation to the text than do those in the other books.

Dr Sampson writing in 1905 described five copies of the separate issue of the *Songs of Innocence*. The number is here increased to twenty-three, though a few are incomplete, and six (J, L, S, T, V and W) have not been located. There is no contemporary reference to the *Songs of Innocence* before the completion of the companion volume, the *Songs of Experience*, but in the *Prospectus* of 1793 these two volumes are advertised at five shillings each, and are stated each to contain twenty-five plates. In 1818 Blake offered the *Songs of Innocence*, containing twenty-eight plates, at three guineas, but there is no evidence to show that any copy of the book by itself was issued as late as this. The latest copy (S), to which a definite date can be assigned, was issued not earlier than 1808.

Nearly all Blake's original designs for the plates seem to have disappeared. In Quaritch's *General Catalogue*, 1887, p. 935, two designs resembling the frontispiece and the Introduction are described, and these may have been done before the plates were made. Manuscript

sources of the text are almost equally rare, and versions of only three of the poems (nos. 20, 22 and 23) are to be found in Blake's autograph in the MS. known as *An Island in the Moon*. A different version of the 'Laughing Song',[1] probably earlier, is to be found in MS., though not in Blake's autograph, on the fly-leaf of a copy of *Poetical Sketches*.

This account of the *Songs of Innocence* is necessarily incomplete without the further account of the combined issue of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* and the two should be read in conjunction.

DATE	CHARACTERISTICS	COPIES
1789–94	31 plates on 17 leaves. Printed in brown, except the last copy which is in green. Simple water-colours.	A, B, C (J WHATMAN), D, E (J WHATMAN and E & P), F (E & P, imperfect), G (J WHATMAN), H, and I (J WHATMAN)
1794–1800	27 to 28 plates on 15 to 16 leaves. Printed in brown, except the first copy which is in green. Water-colours slightly more elaborate.	J (E & P, imperfect), K, L and M (E & P)
1800–10	26 to 28 plates on 26 to 28 leaves. Printed in various colours, chiefly brown. Water-colours more elaborate. All but one foliated by Blake.	N, O (BUTTANSHAW 1802), P (J WHATMAN and EDMEADS & PINE 1802), Q (EDMEADS & PINE 1802 and J WHATMAN 1804), R (imperfect), and S (J WHATMAN 1808)
1810–20	29 to 31 plates on 29 to 31 leaves. Printed in grey. One with rich water-colours, one uncoloured.	T (J WHATMAN) and U
	Details unknown.	V, W

COPIES

A [B] 31 plates on 17 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Painted with simple light, though bright, water-colours. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 14, 18–19, 28–31, 10–11, 22–27, 4–7, 9, 8, 20, 21, 16–17, 13, 12. Size: 19·2 × 13·5 cm. Originally bound in worn red leather; bound about 1900 in citron morocco, inlaid, gilt over rough edges, by the Club Bindery.

Stated to have been the copy given by Blake to his physician. On the front fly-leaf is a pencil note by Robert Hoe: 'This is the copy coloured by Blake & given by him to his physician. It had been preserved between leather covers until I bound it. R.H.' Sold at Sotheby's, 22 February 1897 (lot 752, Stevens, £42). Acquired by Robert Hoe, and sold with the second part of his library, Anderson's, 8 January 1912 (lot 452, Graham, $665). Bought by Christine A. Graham, and sold as the 'property of a Maryland

[1] For the text of this see *Notes and Queries*, 24 September 1910; Sampson, 1913, p. 69; and *Writings*, ed. Keynes, 1925, vol. 1, p. 83.

Lady', Parke-Bernet, 23 November 1943 (lot 48, G. Wells, $3300). With the Hoe and Graham book-plates. Now in the possession of David McC. McKell, of Chillicothe, Ohio. (Sampson, 1905, copy B.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 3.

B [E] 31 plates on 17 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Painted in a plain and very simple manner with water-colour washes, various tones of green predominating. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 14, 24, 27, 23, 22, 28–31, 10–11, 13, 12, 4–7, 20, 21, 18–19, 25–26, 9, 8, 16–17. Size: 17·6 × 12·4 cm. Bound in stamped russia, with lettering SONGS | OF | INNOCENCE in centre of top cover, rebacked; fly-leaf with watermark dated 1825.

Twice in the front is the signature 'R. H. Clarke', *i.e.* Robert Hayley Clarke, son of James Stanier Clarke, a friend of Hayley. This copy was sold at Sotheby's, 25 May 1906 (Robson, £83), and was acquired by W. E. Moss, whose book-label is in the front. It was sold again with the Moss library at Sotheby's, 2 March 1937 (lot 143, Rosenbach, £750), and is now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Manchester, 1914, no. 148; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 15.

C [D] 31 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in sepia. Painted with light water-colours, predominating tones yellow, blue-green, and violet. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 18–21, 12–13, 24–27, 8–9, 4–7, 28–31, 23, 22, 10–11, 16–17, 14–15. Size: 19 × 12·5 cm. Bound in green levant morocco, inlaid, by F. Bedford, t.e.g., other edges untrimmed.

A copy of great beauty, said to have been executed for Samuel Rogers, with his book-plate and that of his brother, Henry. It was seen by R. H. Shepherd, and described by him in the *Academy* for June 1875, at which time it was in the possession of John Pearson. In 1915 it was acquired privately by Quaritch, by whom it was offered in a catalogue (March 1915, £220), being sold shortly afterwards. It was then bought by Professor George Herbert Palmer, and was bequeathed with his collection of English Poetry to Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Mass.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 14.

D [C] 31 plates on 17 leaves. No watermark. Printed in yellow-brown. Coloured with extreme finish in water-colours. Arrangement: 1–3, 10–11, 28–31, 9, 8, 4–7, 22, 23, 14–17, 20, 21, 12, 13, 18, 19, 24–27. Size: 16·5 × 12·5 cm. Bound in citron levant morocco, inlaid and gilt, by F. Bedford.

John Flaxman's copy, with the autograph of his wife, Mrs Anna Flaxman on the fly-leaf. Sold at Christie's with the first portion of Flaxman's effects, June 1875, and acquired by the bookseller John Pearson. A letter, now associated with the Flaxman copy of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (copy O), shows that Pearson offered the *Songs of Innocence* to an American customer in March 1883, but it remained in his possession, and was ultimately sold with his library at Sotheby's, 7 November 1916

(lot 41, Sawyer, £205). Then acquired by Herschel V. Jones, and now in the possession of his daughter, Miss Tessie Jones, of Newburgh, New York. (Sampson, 1905, copy C).

E* 31 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN on one leaf, and E & P on another. Printed in golden-brown. Delicately painted with simple water-colour washes in plain, clear tints. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 12, 13, 10–11, 9, 8, 28–31, 15, 14, 24–27, 22, 23, 21, 20, 4–7, 16–19; but the leaves are loose and may have been rearranged. Size: 19·3 × 13·7 cm. Unbound, in the original tan paper wrappers, with stitch holes, in red morocco case.

Formerly laid between the leaves of a copy of Scott's *Geography*, with the owner's name and date of birth on a leather label, 'C. Newman Born July 21st 1804'. The volume was bought in 1899 by C. R. Robson, of Leicester, who discovered the *Songs of Innocence*. Sold by him at Sotheby's, 15 December 1926 (lot 612, Spencer, £450). Then acquired by Owen D. Young, who in 1941 gave it jointly with Dr A. A. Berg to the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, of the New York Public Library.

F [G] 27 plates on 15 leaves. Watermark E & P on two leaves. The first three plates printed in brown, the rest in golden brown. Painted with clear and simple water-colours, the tints bright but delicate. Paginated in black, i–xxvii. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 14, 8, 9, 28–31, 20–21, 12–13, 18–19, 16–17, 24–27, 4–7. Lacks 10, 11, 22, 23. Size: 18·5 × 13·4 cm. The leaves show the original stitch-holes, but are now interleaved and bound in olive morocco, elaborately gilt, edges gilt and gauffred, *ca.* 1820.

Probably the same copy (formerly copy S) as that sold with twenty-one plates, and described as bound in morocco, gauffred edges, gilt, by C. Lewis, from the library of E. H. Lawrence, F.S.A., Sotheby's, 9 May 1892 (lot 60, Pearson, £52). It was again sold, then lacking only the four plates, with the library of J. B. Ditchfield, M.D., Sotheby's, 24 April 1893 (lot 1086, Pearson, £18). It was then acquired by Thomas J. Wise, who may have written the now erased and almost illegible note in the back, but was resold by him in 1899. Bought by Amy Lowell from Quaritch some time after 1900, and has her book-plate. Bequeathed by her in 1925 to the Harvard College Library. (Mentioned in Sampson, 1905, p. 70.)

Perhaps it was this copy that was sold at Adlard's, 191 Piccadilly, with the collection of Thomas Edwards of Halifax, 15 May 1828, described as from the late James Boswell's collection: '*Songs of Innocence*...bound by Lewis in Venetian morocco extra gilt leaves' (lot 940, Clarke, £2. 13*s*.). Boswell's library was sold 24 May 1825.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 16.

G [A] 31 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on two leaves. Printed in golden-brown. Simply painted with water-colours, blue predominating, possibly by Mrs Blake under her husband's guidance. No pagination. Arranged as above. Size: 19 × 13·6 cm., untrimmed. Formerly stitched, and now loose, in blue-grey paper covers with drab paper spine.

Sold anonymously at Sotheby's, 1 July 1895 (lot 501, Quaritch, £20). Acquired by W. A. White, and given by him to his daughter, Mrs Moffat, now Mrs William

Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass. Inscribed on the back of the first leaf, 'Frances W. Moffat, 10 August, 1895, with love'. (Sampson, 1905, copy A.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 2; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 13.

H [T] 31 plates on 17 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Lightly painted with water-colours, possibly by Mrs Blake. Pagination in pencil. Arrangement: 1, 2, 3, 15, 14, 28–31, 10, 11, 18, 19, 16, 17, 22, 23, 9, 8, 24–27, 20, 21, 4–7, 13, 12. Size: 19 × 13 cm. The leaves, which show the original stitch-holes, are on paper guards, bound in green morocco, by J. Smith.

Formerly in the possession of Edward FitzGerald, who on 25 October, 1833, wrote to W. B. Donne, 'I have lately bought a little pamphlet which is very difficult to be got, called The Songs of Innocence, written and adorned with drawings by W. Blake...'. With Fitzgerald's signature, dated 1834, on the fly-leaf. Afterwards in the collection of Thomas Gaisford, whose book-plate is inside the cover. Sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 186, Quaritch, £41). Acquired by General Archibald Stirling of Keir, and now in the possession of his son, Lt.-Col. William Stirling.

I [F] 31 plates on 17 leaves. Part of watermark J WHATMAN on two leaves. Printed in green. Painted with light water-colours, green and blue predominating. Paginated in pencil. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 29–31, 18–19, 9, 5–8, 22, 14, 24, 20, 21, 13, 25–28, 4, 23, 12, 10–11, 16–17. Size: 18·1 × 12·5 cm. Bound in contemporary mottled calf, ornament in the centre of each side, with protective cover.

Formerly in the possession of John Linnell. Later acquired by Robert Hoe, who wrote in it: 'I paid £4. 4*s*. for this book. R.H.' Sold with the first part of his library at Anderson's, 25 April 1911 (lot 390, G. D. Smith, $700). Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Sampson, 1905, copy D.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 4. (The history in the catalogue is wrong, having been confused with that of copy A. Sampson was misled by this, and also has it wrong.)

J [H] 21 plates on 12 leaves. Watermark E & P. Printed in green. Delicately painted with water-colours, green predominating. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 29–31, 12, 4, 10, 11, 24, 14, 8, 25, 26, 9, 22, 13, 18, 19. Lacks 5–7, 16–17, 20, 21, 23, 27, 28. Size: 16 × 11·5 cm. Bound in old half leather, gilt, enclosed in embroidered cover.

An incomplete copy, from the collection of H. A. Mair, sold at Sotheby's, 20 November 1900 (Quaritch). Acquired by E. J. Shaw, of Walsall, and sold by him at Sotheby's, 29 July 1925 (lot 159, Spencer, £150). Resold at American Art Association, 14 April 1926 (lot 75, W. Clarkson, $1200). Present location unknown. (Sampson, 1905, copy E.)

K 28 plates on 16 leaves. No watermark. Printed in varying shades of brown. Delicately painted with water-colours, chiefly in green, blue, and brown. On some of the earlier pages the letters of the text have been carefully illuminated in red or green. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 10–11, 28, 29–30, 31, 9, 8, 4, 25–27, 14, 15, 18–19, 22, 23, 13, 12, 20, 21, 16–17, 24. Lacks pls. 5–7. Size: 17 × 11·5 cm. Bound in black straight-grain morocco, by C. Murdon.

From the library of Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, with his autograph on the fly-leaf. Offered for sale at Christie's, 9 May 1911 (lot 55, Tennent, £250), but withdrawn at that price. Passed into the hands of G. D. Smith, from whom it was purchased by Carl H. Pforzheimer, of New York.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 17.

L 27 plates on 15 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Painted with water-colours. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 14, 22–31, 10–11, 18–21, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17. Lacks 4–7. Size: 19 × 13·5 cm. Stitch-holes at the back of leaves, bound in brown morocco, by Zaehnsdorf.

Sold at Sotheby's, 21 July 1902 (lot 396, Parsons, £19. 10*s*.). Acquired by the late Miss A. G. E. Carthew. Present location unknown.

M* 27 plates on 15 leaves. Watermark E & P, on two leaves. Printed in brown. Painted with water-colour washes, predominating tints purple and blue, very beautifully finished; the text of 'Holy Thursday' illuminated in crimson. No pagination. Arrangement: 1–3, 14, 15, 28–31, 24, 25–26, 27, 18–19, 23, 22, 10–11, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 16, 20, 21. Lacks 4–7. The leaf with 'Night' (16–17) placed the wrong way round by the binder. Size: 18·5 × 12 cm. Bound in old purple velvet, with magenta silk doublures, edges gilt and gauffred; eight blank leaves at the beginning and fourteen at the end, of which three have the watermark E & P 1804; in contemporary brown calf case, lettered SONGS | OF | INNOCENCE | W. BLAKE.

Probably acquired by the first Marquess of Bute,[1] for the immaculate condition of the volume suggests that it has seldom been handled since it was bound in 1804, and it is probable that it has lain unnoticed in one of the family libraries since that date. Discovered in 1948 by a representative of Messrs Edwards in the library of the 4th Marquess of Bute at Rothesay, and sold by him at Sotheby's, 28 June 1948 (lot 262, Sawyer, £1250). Now in the library of a private collector.

N* 27 plates on 27 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Painted lightly with water-colours. Foliated by Blake in black ink 1–27. Arrangement: 1, 3, 2, 15, 10–11, 8, 23, 22, 18–19, 28, 29–30, 4, 13, 20, 21, 24, 9, 16–17, 28, 25–26, 14, 12. Lacks 5–7, 31. Size: 20 × 13 cm. Bound in green levant morocco, gilt, g.e., by F. Bedford.

No indication of early ownership, but it may have belonged to Blake's Cornish patron, John Hawkins, as it found its way to a jumble-sale in Cornwall in 1933. Sold at Sotheby's, 3 April 1933 (lot 158, Quaritch, £410). Offered by Quaritch in March 1934 (Cat. 486, £600). Then acquired by Mrs Edward L. Doheny, and now in the Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial Library, St John's Seminary, Camarillo, California.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 20.

O* 26 plates on 26 leaves. Watermark BUTTANSHAW 180[2]. Printed in brown and green. Painted with very pretty, light water-colours, some of the text and designs touched

[1] Eldest brother of Lady Portarlington, to whom Blake was introduced by William Hayley about 1804; see *America*, copy K (p. 46).

up with fine pen-work. Foliated by Blake 1–28, omitting 5–6. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 14, 29–30, 24, 25–26, 28, 27, 31, 13, 8, 23, 12, 16–17, 4, 18–19, 9, 22, 20, 21. Lacks 5–7, 10–11. Size: 19·5 × 13·5 cm. Bound in contemporary green marbled boards, with roan back and green end-papers.

Probably bought from Blake by Arthur Champernowne (1769–1819), whose collection of pictures was sold at Christie's in 1820. This volume came to light in February 1936, among the effects of his great-grandson, A. M. Champernowne. Sold for him at Sotheby's, 6 May 1936 (lot 718, Schwarz, £180). Now in the possession of T. E. Hanley, of Bradford, Pennsylvania.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 21.

P [O] 26 plates on 26 leaves. Watermarks J WH[ATMAN] 1[804], on two leaves, and EDMEADS & PINE 1802, on two leaves. Printed in orange. Very lightly and beautifully painted with water-colour washes, a delicate pale blue predominating; the text on pl. 23 and some of the designs outlined with a pen. No foliation. Arrangement: 1–3, 14, 10–11, 25–26, 12, 23, 27, 20, 21, 24, 4, 28, 9, 16–17, 8, 15, 31, 13, 22, 29, 18. Lacks 5–7, 19, 30. Size: 17·8 × 12·8 cm. Bound in contemporary black straight-grain morocco, gilt, with velvet panels and the arms of Thomas Johnes of Hafod stamped in the centre, g.e., in red morocco case.

On the recto of the first leaf is written: '[Mr. Johnes] the gift of Mr. Malkin—1805', so that this volume evidently belonged originally to the author of *A Father's Memoirs of his Child*, 1806, and was given by him to Thomas Johnes, to whom he dedicated his book. Johnes's name has been erased in the inscription, and traces only are left. Later in the possession of Laurence W. Hodson, of Wolverhampton, whose label is inside the cover. Sold with his library at Sotheby's, 3 December 1906 (lot 64, Tregaskis, £107). Then acquired by Dr Greville MacDonald, who sold it in 1920 to Edwards. Purchased from Gabriel Wells in April 1922 for $1400 by Frank B. Bemis, of Boston, and sold through Rosenbach in 1940 to Chauncey B. Tinker, with both their bookplates. Given by Professor Tinker to Yale University Library, New Haven.

Exhib.: Manchester, 1914, no. 149; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 18.

Q [P] 28 plates on 28 leaves. Watermarks EDMEADS & PINE 1802 and J WHATMAN 1804. Printed in golden brown. Very beautifully painted with water-colours, some of the text and designs heightened in ink. Foliated by Blake 1–28. Arrangement: 1–3, 10, 11, 9, 25, 26, 14, 31, 15, 29, 30, 24, 18–19, 12, 23, 8, 13, 4, 27, 28, 22, 20, 21, 16–17. Lacks 5–7. Size: 17·5 × 12 cm. Bound in olive-green calf, with a drawing by Blake of a woman holding a young boy tipped in at the end.

Erroneously stated to have been John Linnell's copy, probably because a pen-and-ink portrait of Blake by Linnell and an autograph letter from Blake to him were at one time inserted. Sold at Sotheby's, 27 July 1893 (lot 1100, Heath, £49. 10*s*.). Sold by Quaritch in 1900 to Marsden J. Perry, of Providence. Later bought from him by William A. White, and given by him to his brother, Alfred T. White. Now in the possession of the latter's daughter, Mrs Adrian Van Sinderen. (Sampson, 1905, copy G.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, nos. 5–6 (wrongly catalogued as two items); Philadelphia, 1939, no. 19.

R [M] 9 plates on 9 leaves. No watermark. Printed in blue or brown. Painted with water-colours, some with gold added to the designs. Foliated by Blake. Arranged as follows, Blake's numbers being given in brackets: 1 (1), 23 (18), 16 (19), 25–26 (22–23), 22 (24), 14 (25), 4 (27), 24 (28). Size of original leaf about 20 × 15 cm., though one leaf is scorched and two others are trimmed. Bound in boards, in a slip-case.

Acquired by the 1st Baron Dimsdale during Blake's lifetime. It is probable that the series was originally complete, these nine leaves having been rescued by their owner from a bonfire. Sold for Major Thomas E. Dimsdale at Sotheby's, 24 November 1952 (lot 99, £240). Now in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes.

S [Q] 28 plates on 28 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1808. Printed in grey. Carefully painted with water-colours in subdued tones. Foliated by Blake 2–28. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 10–11, 8, 29–30, 9, 13, 20, 21, 28, 18–19, 12, 23, 16–17, 27, 25–26, 22, 14, 31, 4, 24. Lacks 5–7; Blake's foliation shows that a frontispiece, which has recently been supplied from another source, was originally included. Size: about 20·5 × 14·5 cm., untrimmed. The leaves, which show the original stitch-holes, are mounted on sunk mats and bound in brown morocco, gilt, by Riviere.

The early history of this copy is not known. It was bought by Quaritch from a private source, and offered in their catalogue of December 1920 (Cat. 361, £350), and again, with the frontispiece now inserted, in March 1922 (Cat. 368, £400). Then bought by Mrs Phoebe A. D. Boyle, and sold with her library at Anderson's, 18 November 1923 (lot 46, G. D. Smith, $1100). Acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 16, Gannon, $2300). Not traced.

T [I] 29 plates on 29 leaves. Portions of watermark J WHATMAN. Printed in dark grey. Painted with rich but simple water-colours, the text tinted and the general effect fine. No foliation. Arrangement: 1–3, 15, 14, 24, 23, 22, 29–31, 10–11, 13, 12, 4–7, 20, 21, 18–19, 25–26, 9, 8, 16–17. Lacks 27, 28. Size: 18·5 × 14 cm. Bound in russia, blind tooled.

A copy sold at Hodgson's, 21 April 1910 (lot 246, Edwards, £47). Offered for sale by Maggs in 1911 (Cat. 268, no. 35, £110). Acquired by Miss Catherine Bullard, of Boston. Present location unknown.

U 31 plates on 31 leaves. Watermark WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Formerly arranged: 2, 1, 3, 10–11, 29–30, 9, 22, 28, 13, 14, 8, 20, 21, 16–17, 27, 24, 18–19, 12, 23, 25–26, 31, 4, 15, 5–7. Size: 19 × 11·7 cm. Now loose in binding together with the *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1809, and the *Canterbury Pilgrims*, 1812; fly-leaf with watermark dated 1818.

Formerly in the possession of Robert Balmanno, an English journalist, who emigrated to New York. He had been friendly with Stothard and Fuseli and other artists who knew Blake, and may have had the books direct from him. Afterwards in the collection of E. W. Hooper, of Boston. Reproduced in 1883 by Little, Brown, and Co. For many

years in the possession of Hooper's daughter, Mrs Greely S. Curtis, Jr., of Boston, and given by her sister, Mrs Ward Thoron, to the Houghton Library, Harvard University, in 1951 in memory of her father.

V [R] 30 plates on 30 leaves. Coloured. Lacks title-page. Size given as 8°. Bound in half leather.

From the library of W. H. Crawford, of Lakelands, co. Cork, sold at Sotheby's, 12 March 1891 (lot 350, Tregaskis, £8, w.a.f.).

W* 22 plates on 22 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN. Uncoloured. Size about 20·3 × 12·1 cm., uncut. Unbound, in morocco cover.

Sold 'the Property of a Nobleman' at Hodgson's, 28 June 1940 (lot 260, Private, £25).

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: Little, Brown & Co., 1883; William Muir, 1885, coloured (copy D); Frederick Holyer, 1923, coloured; Bunsho Jagaku, Kyoto, Japan, 1933, partly coloured, with translation into Japanese. See also under *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, p. 69.

THE | BOOK | of | THEL | The Author & Printer Will[m] Blake. 1789

DESCRIPTION

Thel's Motto and title, 2 pls., text of *Thel*, chs. I–IV, 6 pls. = 8 plates, 15·5 × 11 cm. (except pl. i), relief etching. Plates 1–6 are numbered at the top right-hand corner.

CONTENTS

[i] *Thel's Motto*, 4 lines on a small plate, 6 × 10 cm.

[ii] Title-page, *The Book of Thel*, etc. A slender tree arches over the title from left to right; beside it Thel stands with a shepherd's crook, gazing at a plant from the flowers of which spring two small figures, a nude male pursuing a clothed female.

1. *Thel I.* Begins: *The daughters of Mne Seraphim led round their sunny flocks.* Around the heading are various small figures, including a youth soaring after an eagle, a woman embracing a flying child, a floating nude with sword and shield, and a youth lying on a leaf gazing upwards.

2. (*I*, cont.) Begins: *Why should the mistress of the vales of Har, utter a sigh.* Below, the Lily bows before Thel beneath the drooping branches of a birch-tree which stands to the right.

3. *II.* Begins: *O little Cloud the virgin said, I charge thee tell to me.* No decoration, except a sprig at the top and bottom.

4. *III.* Begins: *Then Thel astonish'd view'd the Worm upon its dewy bed.* Above, Thel, with outstretched arms, stands before the infant Worm as it lies upon a lily, while the flying figure of the Cloud floats away in the sky; the trunk of a tree appears to the right.

5. (*III*, cont.) Begins: *But he that loves the lowly, pours his oil upon my head.* Below, in the shadow of huge plants Thel sits with bowed head and folded arms watching the matron Clay and the infant Worm playing on the ground before her.

6. *IV.* Begins: *The eternal gates terrific porter lifted the northern bar.* Below, three naked children (Innocence) ride on the back of a serpent (Nature). (Cf. *America*, pl. 11.)

NOTE

The Book of Thel belongs to the same period as the *Songs of Innocence*. It was the second major work executed by Blake in illuminated printing, and the first of the prophetic books published. It is the first act in the drama of man as interpreted by Blake, influenced greatly by the Greek idea of pre-existence. Thel represents an unborn spirit, or paradoxically the spirit before it had died and come down to earth, where it must live in death until freed by the grave to eternal life. Using the symbols of the Lily-of-the-Valley, the Cloud, the Worm, and the Clod of Clay to represent idealistic infancy, youth, adolescence and motherhood, Blake tells the story of Thel's visit to the world of generation, her frightened rejection of the self-sacrificing aspects of experience, and her flight back to eternity. The book is his first attempt to explain to his fellow-men through a myth truth as he saw it.

Thel is a volume of large quarto size, measuring usually about 30 × 23 cm. when untrimmed, and consisting of eight plates, which are always printed on one side of the leaf only. One incomplete set of proofs and fifteen finished copies are fully described; three more are to be found among sale records, which should perhaps be identified with some of the others. The arrangement and constitution of the plates found in the copies described below do not vary, except in copy E, which has only seven plates, and copies N and O, in which plate i is placed at the end. In copies A–L the plates are printed in various light shades of brown or green ink, and are coloured with transparent water-colour washes; the character of the colouring is simple and sometimes of great beauty, and it does not vary so much as in some of the other illuminated books. The tentative quality and almost exact similarity of the colouring in several copies would seem to indicate Mrs Blake's participation.

The Morgan proofs in black have the undated watermark J WHATMAN, as do some of the earlier copies of *Songs of Innocence*. The Beaconsfield copy (F), with the watermark I TAYLOR 1794, was executed for Isaac D'Israeli at the same time as the other books from that collection, and is printed on larger paper than the rest. All the other copies of which details are available, except for two later ones, are printed on paper which bears no watermark. This fact and the comparative uniformity of the colouring make it seem probable that they were printed and illuminated by Blake and his wife at about the same time, perhaps in the years 1789–94. The exceptions, copies N and O, have watermarks dated 1815. They are more elaborately coloured than the other copies, and were no doubt made some time before a copy was offered for sale in 1818. The text, which is etched throughout in italic, as in the later books, does not vary, except that in copies I and J Blake has erased the last two lines but two.

The first line of the poem, which reads:

'The daughters of Mne Seraphim led round their sunny flocks'

has given rise to some conjecture. W. B. Yeats has suggested that Blake first intended to write 'The daughters of Mnetha', but afterwards adopted the above reading and omitted to alter 'Mne' into 'the'. Foster Damon on the other hand has pointed out that Blake may have found the name 'Bne Seraphim' (Hebrew for sons of the Seraphim) in Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* from which he took other mystical names. He felt that the change from *Bne* to *Mne* was meaningless.

In the *Prospectus* of 1793 *Thel* was advertised as 'The Book of Thel, a Poem in Illuminated Printing. Quarto, with 6 designs, price 3*s*.' Evidently Blake reckoned as 'designs' only the six plates of text, which he had numbered on the copper 1–6. In 1818 the book was offered as 'Thel 6 prints quarto £2. 2. 0', and in 1827 the price was increased to three guineas. The identities of original purchasers are known in the ownership of George Cumberland (A), Thomas Stothard (E), Isaac D'Israeli (F), and Thomas Butts (L).

COPIES

*a** proofs — 5 plates on 5 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Lacks pl. i, 4 and 6. Size: from 19·4 × 14·8 to 30·3 × 24·9 cm. Unbound, and matted, in folder.

The Book of Thel

Part of a 'Collection of Original Engravings and Sketches, Comprising Proof Sheets and Unpublished Trial Plates', formerly bound in old calf, and described as 'undoubtedly, the collection of some early admirer, and possibly from the unique state of many of the plates, the prized possession of some friend of the artist himself'. Sold with the Arthington library at Sotheby's, 17 May 1866 (lot 24, Pickering, £11). Seen in 1902 by William Muir, whose notes originally accompanied the volume. Formerly in the collection of Henry White, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 21 April 1902 (lot 270, Roberts, £87). Resold at Sotheby's, 9 December 1905 (lot 921, £80), and again on 15 December 1906 (lot 482). Now, together with the other contents of the volume, which has been broken up, in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

A 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in golden brown. Delicately painted with very light water-colour washes, chiefly blue and dull yellow. Size: 26·6 × 18·3 cm. Formerly bound in old half calf, lettered on the spine *Blake's Works*, together with *Urizen*, copy F, and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, copy A; now unbound and matted, in cloth case.

George Cumberland's copy, with the pencil note on a fly-leaf of the binding, 'Cumberland's Sale H. G. Bohn'. Later in the possession of William Beckford, and sold at the fourth part of the Hamilton Palace sale, Sotheby's, 29 November 1883 (lot 764, Quaritch, £121). Then acquired by E. W. Hooper, of Boston. After his death the volume was divided up, and the *Thel* passed into the possession of his daughter, Mrs John B. Potter. It was given by her to her daughter, Mrs John Butler Swann, who deposited it in 1941 in the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Boston, 1891, no. 2; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 22.

B 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in shades of red and yellow brown. Lightly and simply painted with pale water-colour washes. Size: 29 × 23·2 cm. Bound in olive morocco, elaborately gilt, by Cockerell, 1904.

This copy was said to have been originally in the Butts collection, but see copy L. Formerly in the collection of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and sold by his son, the Earl of Crewe, Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 2, Edwards, £77), then unbound. Acquired by Sir Algernon Methuen, and sold with his library, Sotheby's, 19 February 1936 (lot 501, Quaritch, £420). Now in the collection of Philip Hofer, on deposit in the Harvard College Library, in the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall. Brit. Art, 1913, no. 89; B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 73; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 23.

C 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in dull brown; the inking of pl. 1 was light in places and several letters have been touched up with black ink. Delicately painted with clear water-colours, in the manner of the early copies of *Songs of Innocence*. Size: 28·5 × 22 cm. Bound in red morocco, g.e., by Riviere.

Thomas Gaisford's copy, with his book-plate, and marked on the fly-leaf, '106 Cat. June 30 1877'. Sold with the Gaisford library, Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 185,

Quaritch, £29). Acquired by William A. White on 20 March 1891. After his death it was bought by John W. Frothingham, and was given by Miss Elizabeth W. Frothingham in 1940 to W. A. White's daughter, Mrs William Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 10.

D 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in golden-brown. Lightly touched with water-colours, probably by Mrs Blake; prevailing tint blue. Size: 29 × 22 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e., interleaved.

Purchased from Messrs Evans in 1856 for the British Museum Print Room.

E [K] 7 plates on 7 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Delicately painted with light water-colours, blue and bright pink being the predominant shades. Lacks pl. i. Size: 30 × 23·5 cm. Loose, in wrapper, edges frayed and mended, in morocco case.

Obtained from Blake by Stothard. On the wrapper is written: 'Stothard's Copy. Preserve.' This copy was seen by Gilchrist who wrote (i, 78): 'I may mention in corroboration of a previous assertion of Stothard's obligations as a designer to Blake, that the copy of *Thel*, formerly Stothard's, bears evidence of familiar use on his part, in broken edges, and the marks of a painter's oily fingers.' These marks are, however, now less clear. This copy is probably to be identified with one from the library of Sir Robert Comyn, which was sold at Sotheby's, 13 March 1893 (lot 1811, Robson, £14. 10*s*.). It was shortly afterwards acquired by Thomas J. Wise, but resold by him in 1899. It eventually came into the possession of Herschel V. Jones, and was sold with his library at Anderson's, 2 December 1918 (lot 182, Rosenbach, $790). Then in the collection of A. Edward Newton, and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 128, Stonehill, $1500). Finally acquired by Professor Chauncy Brewster Tinker, and given by him to Yale University Library, New Haven. The portfolio contains the tickets of the last three owners.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 26.

F [L] 8 plates on 8 leaves. Watermark I TAYLOR 1794 on pls. 3 and 5. Printed in golden-brown. Delicately painted with light water-colours, the figure of Thel uniformly in yellow, and blue used generally for backgrounds. Size: 37·5 × 27·2 cm., uncut, with original stitch holes. Mounted loosely in a volume bound in half red morocco.

Probably bought by Isaac D'Israeli from Blake. Sold with the Beaconsfield library at Sotheby's, 20 March 1882 (lot 59, Ellis and White, £23). Offered by Ellis and White in their catalogue of November 1882 for £42, and acquired by B. B. Macgeorge, of Glasgow. Sold with the Macgeorge library at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 110, Quaritch, £290). Offered by Quaritch in November 1924 for £375. Acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 14, Rosenbach, $2200). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall., 1913, no. 88; Manchester, 1914, no. 157; Nat. Gall. Scotland, 1914, case B, no. 3; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 27.

G [E] 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in blue-green. Delicately painted with water-colours. Size: 30 × 24 cm. Bound in modern morocco, gilt.

Formerly in the collection of Charles Fairfax Murray, whose label is inside the cover, and presented by him in 1912 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

H [F] 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Delicately painted with light water-colour washes. Size: 30·7 × 23·5 cm., uncut. Bound in blue morocco, by Riviere.

Formerly in the possession of F. P. Osmaston, and sold at Sotheby's, 1 June 1905 (lot 772, Dobell, £67). Dobell believes it was sold to another bookseller, and it was bought from Tregaskis in 1906 by Dr Greville M. MacDonald, who added his book-plate. He in turn sold it to Francis Edwards in March 1920. It appeared in a mixed sale at Anderson's, 21 May 1923 (lot 108, Drake, $1025), and was acquired by Major W. van R. Whittall, whose book-label is in the front. It was resold at the sale of his library at the American Art Association, 14 February 1927 (lot 111, Rosenbach, $5000), and is now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Manchester, 1914, no. 158; Nat. Gall. Scotland, 1914, no. 10; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 24.

I [G] 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Delicately painted with water-colours; prevailing tints blue, yellow, and pink. The last two lines but two of the text have been erased, and some decorations painted over them. Size: 29·5 × 23 cm. Bound in half calf.

Formerly in the library of Francis Douce, whose book-plate is inside the cover. Bequeathed by him in 1835 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

J [H] 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Brightly painted with deep water-colour washes, yellow, green and raspberry predominating. The last two lines of the text but two have been erased and tinted over by Blake as in copy I. Size 29·8 × 23·5 cm. Bound, together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy G, in old straight grain olive morocco, g.e., lettered: *The Book of Thel By Blake 1789.* Interleaved with tissue paper, which is watermarked J WHATMAN 1811, and with a watermark dated 1816 on two of the fly-leaves.

In the front is a note in Thomas F. Dibdin's autograph, 'very curious and extra rare T D'[1]. Sold at Christie's in 1881. Bought about 1900 from Quaritch by Amy Lowell, and bequeathed by her in 1925 to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 25.

K* 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Delicately painted with water-colour washes. Size: 29 × 23·5 cm. Bound about 1885 in half maroon morocco.

Formerly in the possession of J. J. Garth Wilkinson, from whom it passed to his daughter, Mrs M. J. Mathews. After her death it was sold at Christie's, 9 April 1945 (lot 28, Quaritch, £540). Offered for sale by Quaritch in their Centenary Catalogue, 1947, for £700. Traded to America and now in the Yale University Library.

[1] Not catalogued with Dibdin's library, sold by Evans, 26 June 1817.

L [I] 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Painted with strong yellow, blue and pink water-colours. Size: 30·4 × 24 cm. Bound in green levant morocco, g.e., by F. Bedford.

Originally in the possession of Thomas Butts, and sold with his collection, Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 51, F. T. Palgrave, £2. 15*s*.). From Francis Palgrave it passed to Frederick Locker-Lampson, who added his book-plate, and was for some years in the Rowfant Library. When this was sold by Dodd, Mead and Co. in 1904 it passed into the collection of E. D. Church. It is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

M* 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in red-brown. Lightly painted with clear water-colour washes, blue and pink predominating, probably by Mrs Blake. Size: 30·4 × 23·7 cm. Interleaved and bound in half green morocco, uncut, by De Coverly.

On plate i is the name 'Euphrasia Fanny' in ink, with 'Haworth' added in pencil. Formerly in the collection of J. Frederick Hall, whose signature dated 1873 is on the fly-leaf. Sold with the library of Arnold Hall at Sotheby's, 30 June 1927 (lot 234, Rimell, £4. 10*s*.). It had been catalogued as a facsimile, and was recognized as an original only by the purchaser. Offered for sale by Rimell together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy K, and *America*, copy L, in 1927 for £1600. Acquired by Owen D. Young, who in 1941 gave it jointly with Dr A. A. Berg to the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, of the New York Public Library.

N [M] 8 plates on 8 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815, on two leaves. Printed in red-brown. Very beautifully painted with bright water-colours, the designs in some instances outlined in ink, and each plate surrounded by a framing line. Arrangement: ii, 1–6, i. Numbered by Blake on pls. 2 and 6–8. Size: 28 × 23 cm. Formerly bound in calf, together with *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, copy G, and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy P; now in red straight-grain morocco, g.e.

The volume containing the three books was sold at Sotheby's, 17 February 1890 (lot 301, Robson, £121). It was then divided up, and *Thel* was sold to Alexander Mackay for £32. After the death of his widow, it was resold at Christie's, 26 April 1921 (lot 1, 'Shoebridge', £205). Now in the collection of John J. Emery, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 28.

O* 8 plates on 8 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815, on pls. 1 and 6. Printed in red-brown. Richly painted with bright water-colours, touches of gold on the first five plates, the designs very carefully outlined in ink. Numbered in ink by Blake 1–8. Arrangement: ii, 1–6, i. Size: 27·8 × 21·7 cm. Bound in half calf, marbled edges, together with *Milton*, copy D.

For history, see *Milton*, copy D. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 29.

P 8 plates on 8 leaves. Coloured. Size given as 4°. Sewn.

[N] A copy sold at Sotheby's, 1 July 1895 (lot 502, Ellis, £14). Perhaps to be identified with copies G or H above.

Q 8 plates on 8 leaves. Coloured. Size given as folio, uncut. Sewn.

[O] A copy sold at Sotheby's, 22 February 1897 (lot 806, Gerrard, £18. 5*s*.). Perhaps to be identified with copies G, H or P above.

R 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in light brown. Painted with light water-

[P] colour washes. The last two lines but two of the text have not been erased. Size: 30 × 24 cm., untrimmed. Contemporary wrappers.

From the collection of H. A. Mair, sold at Puttick and Simpson's, 19 November 1900 (lot 330, Quaritch, £46). Since *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy H, was also bought at the Mair sale by Quaritch, and was sold to Marsden J. Perry, this is probably the copy sold with his collection at American Art-Anderson's, 11 March 1936 (lot 37, Drake, $2000). Sold by Drake to a private collector, and in 1952 repurchased by them. Perhaps to be identified with copy P or Q. This is an early copy, and should have been placed in the series A–F.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: In *Works by William Blake*, 1876: William Muir, 1884, coloured (copy D); EY, iii; William Muir, 1920, coloured; Frederick Holyer, c. 1923, coloured; Gollancz, 1928, coloured (copy D); Bunsho Jagaku, 1934, coloured, with translation into Japanese.

VISIONS | of | the Daughters of | Albion | The Eye sees more than the Heart knows. | Printed by Willm Blake: 1793.

DESCRIPTION

Frontispiece, title, Argument, 3 pls., *Visions*, 8 pls. = 11 plates, about 17 × 22 cm., relief etching, painted with water-colours. Plates 2, 3, 5, and 7 are numbered at the top right-hand corner.

CONTENTS

[i] Frontispiece. Oothoon and Bromion are chained back to back at the mouth of a cave; Theotormon crouches in despair behind them; in the background is the Sea of Time and Space, over which an angry sun is setting. (In the earliest copies the sun and clouds are clearly printed; the relief outline becomes fainter and fainter in later impressions.)

[ii] Title-page. *Visions*, etc. Urizen pursues Oothoon through a storm across the Sea of Time and Space scattering in his wake a dance of Joys; on the right stand cliffs; above, in the clouds are despairing figures. (In the earlier state the cloud above and to the left of *Visions* is clearly printed; it was removed and in subsequent impressions does not appear. A study for the head of Urizen is on p. 74 of the Notebook (Rossetti MS.), and for the figure in the upper right on p. 81.)

[iii] *The Argument.* 2 stanzas of 4 lines each. Below, Oothoon, kneeling with her hands crossed on her breast, kisses the tiny figure of Leutha, who springs out of a flower. (A sketch for this design is on p. 28 of the Notebook.)

1. *Visions.* Begins: *Enslav'd, the Daughters of Albion weep.* Around the title flying figures shoot down arrows; below Oothoon and Bromion lie exhausted.

2. Begins: *Now thou must marry Bromions harlot, and protect the child.* In the centre, a dark figure, probably Bromion, lies overcome with fatigue, leaving his pickaxe against a fallen tree.

3. Begins: *And none but Bromion can hear my lamentations.* Below, Theotormon's eagle rends the bosom of Oothoon, lying extended on a cloud. (A sketch for this design is on p. 32 of the Notebook.)

4. Begins: *Wave shadows of discontent? and in what houses dwell the wretched.* Above, Oothoon, chained by one ankle, hovers in a wave over the despairing figure of Theotormon, seated with head on knees at the water's edge. (A sketch of the seated figure is on p. 74 of the Notebook, and for the whole design on p. 92.)

5. Begins: *But when the morn arose, her lamentation renewd.* Near the bottom, the draped figure of Oothoon lies prostrate.

6. Begins: *And a palace of eternity in the jaws of the hungry grave.* Below, Theotormon, half-sitting on a cloud, scourges himself, while Oothoon passes before him weeping, with her hands before her eyes.

7. Begins: *In happy copulation; if in evening mild, wearied with work.* Above, four of the Daughters of Albion sit huddled in despair.

8. Begins: *Where the cold miser spreads his gold! or does the bright cloud drop.* Below, Oothoon, with outstretched arms, floats in a cloud over three Daughters of Albion, seated on a rock, lapped by the Sea of Time and Space. (In the earlier state a large cloud appears above to the right and below the floating figure; it was removed and leaves only faint traces above and below the figure's left arm. A sketch of this design is on p. 78 of the Notebook.)

NOTE

The title-page of this work is dated 1793, and the earliest copies probably were completed that year. As *Thel* is to a large extent the prophetic counterpart of the *Songs of Innocence*, so the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* complements the *Songs of Experience*. The designs in the text—the frontispiece and the title-page normally being the last completed section of any book—are stylistically very close to those of *Thel*. The colouring of the early copies is very gentle and simple, as in the previous books. The mood of the text is that of both the *Songs of Experience* and *The Gates of Paradise*. In all, although previously placed after *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, these indications would show that it was completed, if not begun, before that work.

It has been surmised by several writers on Blake that the period of Experience marked a sexual crisis in Blake's life, and that either he fell in love with another or learned that he and his wife were destined to remain childless. Consequently, in this book he sets forth his resentment at the miserable estate to which love had been forced. Marriage as a religious or legal tie was objectionable. The union of the sexes should be based on emotion and sexuality—a pure ecstatic phenomenon. It has been suggested that the *Visions* is an idealized biography of Mary Godwin, but the relationship with her is far more of ideas than of personal details. Blake tells the story of Oothoon's forced connexion with the rational Bromion, which prevents her from realizing her happiness with her true love, the emotional Theotormon. It is in essence a plaint against the sexual morals of the day, which inhibited the development of man's total being, looking upon sexuality as shame rather than an instrument for the attainment of eternal joy.

There are in existence a fragmentary set of proofs and seventeen complete copies, although no detailed description of one of them (Q) has been obtainable. The book is a folio of eleven plates, measuring 36 × 26 cm. when uncut, usually printed on both sides of the leaves, but in five copies on one side only. The text does not vary, but certain details in pls. i, ii and 8 were revised by Blake, as described above, and enable us to divide the copies into two issues. The earliest example consists of the fragment which seems to be a collection of proof impressions, and is the only copy uncoloured. The next five copies (A–E), all but one with the watermark J WHATMAN, are printed on both sides of the leaf in various tones of brown, and are simply painted with water-colours, much in the manner of the early copies of the *Songs* and *Thel*. These would seem to have been made about 1793–94. Copy F, with the watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, belongs to the year 1795 when Blake executed his series of colour-printed designs, and this may well be the first of his books in which he tried this type

of colouring. Here the solid pigments used are thick and heavy, and the effect rich but sombre. It is the only copy so printed. Another copy (G) of about the same period is unusually bright, but in this Blake reverted to pure water-colour. Thereafter, the examples, until sometime after 1815, are printed in green, one (H) with the watermark J WHATMAN and of the first issue, the remaining five (I–M), all of the second issue and three with the watermark E & P. These are again simply painted with clear water-colours. It should be noted that the great similarity of the copies and the lack of subtlety in the colouring implies the hand of Mrs Blake. Finally, three copies (N–P), with the watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815, printed in bright brown tones, are much more elaborately coloured, with touches of gold as in most of the copies of other books produced at this time.

No manuscript of the text has survived, but original drawings for some of the designs do appear in the Notebook (Rossetti MS.), another indication that the book was made almost contemporaneously with the *Songs of Experience* and *The Gates of Paradise*. In the *Prospectus* of 1793 it was advertised as 'Visions of the Daughters of Albion, in Illuminated Printing. Folio, with 8 designs, price 7*s*. 6*d*.' In 1818 it was offered as 'Visions 8 prints folio £3. 3. 0.' In 1827 the price was £5. 5*s*. Only three copies can be traced back to owners who may have obtained them directly from Blake, Thomas Butts (B), Isaac D'Israeli (F), and H. Crabb Robinson (O).

COPIES

a proofs [Q] A series of six fragments, pls. i and ii, and the designs from pls. iii, 4, 6, and 7. No watermark. Printed in dark brown. Uncoloured. Pls. i and ii in the earlier state, probably proofs. Varying sizes, in mats 25 × 20·5 cm. Now mounted and bound in maroon straight-grain morocco, gilt, g.e., by Zaehnsdorf.

These fragments were contained in a scrap-book, which had belonged to the Chevalier family. It was there stated that the prints were done by Blake for the children of Thomas Chevalier, surgeon (1767–1824), who was a friend of Blake and is said to have attended him. The book was sold as the 'Property of a Lady', the great grand-daughter of Chevalier, Mrs William Dobinson, at Sotheby's, 1 December 1910 (lot 125, Dobell, £3. 3*s*.), and was acquired by W. E. Moss. Sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 2 March 1937 (lot 178, Stonehill, £10). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 59.

A [C] 11 plates on 6 leaves. No watermark. Printed in golden brown. Simply painted with clear water-colours, blue and purple tones predominating. The frontispiece bound at the end, otherwise arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size of original leaf: 30 × 21 cm.; now inlaid to 36 × 25·5 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e., together with *Europe*, copy D.

Purchased from Messrs Evans in 1847, and now in the British Museum Print Room.

B 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN on two leaves. Printed in brown. Painted with water-colours. Arranged as above. Plates i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size:

36·5 × 25·5 cm. Bound in yellow morocco, together with *America*, copy F, and the *Song of Los*, copy D.

The volume belonged originally to Thomas Butts, and was sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 54, F. T. Palgrave, £11). It then contained, in addition, *Europe*, copy D, which has since been separated from it. Palgrave's signature, dated 1852, is on the recto of the frontispiece. In 1859 it was acquired by the British Museum Reading Room. Transferred in 1953 to the Print Room.

C* 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN. Printed in golden brown. Painted with water-colour washes in delicate tints. Arranged as above. Plates i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size: 36·5 × 26 cm. Bound about 1850 in half morocco, with marbled paper sides.

On the fly-leaf is the signature of H. I. Reveley, possibly a relative of Willey Reveley, who edited the third volume of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, 1794, for which Blake engraved several plates. Bought by Henry Cunliffe from C. J. Toovey, with Cunliffe's book-plate and the note 'Toovey 8/8/-'. Bequeathed by him to his great-nephew, the present Lord Cunliffe.

D 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in golden brown. Painted simply with bright water-colour washes, probably by Mrs Blake. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size: 38·5 × 27·6 cm. Unbound, in maroon morocco folder.

Sold at Sotheby's, 1 July 1895 (lot 503, Quaritch, £19). Acquired by W. A. White, and inscribed by him on the wrapper, 'W. A. White 15 July, '95 Sotheby's 1–4 July thro' B. Q. £19 + 10% = $103'. Obtained in 1928 from her father's estate by Mrs William Emerson, and sold by her in May 1935 to Roger Amory, of Needham, Mass. Given by him in December 1944 to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 14.

E* 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in yellow-brown. Painted with pale lavender, blue and pink water-colour washes. Arranged as above. With pls. i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size: 27·3 × 21·2 cm. Bound in red levant morocco, g.e.

Formerly in the library of Ralph Brocklebank, with his book-plate. Sold with his library at Christie's, 10 July 1922 (lot 69, Sabin, £185). Offered by Maggs for £315 in their catalogue no. 428, October 1922. Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

F [A] 11 plates on 11 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, on three leaves. Printed in orange-brown. Heavily colour-printed in strong colours, and beautifully finished with water-colours. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size: 38·1 × 28 cm., uncut. The leaves, which show Blake's stitch-holes, are loose in a half morocco binding. Inserted are duplicate impressions of pls. i–iii, the first two in the later state, printed in green on two leaves, and lightly painted with water-colours.

Probably bought from Blake by Isaac D'Israeli. With Beaconsfield's pencil notes on the verso of the last leaf, dated 15 October 1856, showing that the frontispiece was at that time missing. Sold with the Beaconsfield library, still lacking the frontispiece, at Sotheby's, 20 March 1882 (lot 58, Ellis and White, £34). Offered by Ellis and White in their catalogue, November 1882, for £63. Then acquired by B. B. Macgeorge, of Glasgow. The missing frontispiece turned up, with other Blake originals, from an anonymous source, and was sold at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 (lot 226, Hopkins, £29). It was then secured by Macgeorge, who, since it had been somewhat cut down, had it inlaid to its original size (cf. history of *Europe*, copy A). Sold with the Macgeorge library at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 113, Quaritch, £385). Offered by Quaritch for £525 in November 1924 and again in June 1926 (Cat. 401). Acquired by Paul Hyde Bonner, who inserted his book-plate, and later offered for sale in Dutton's catalogue of his library, 1931 (no. 24, $10,000). Sold with the Bonner collection at American Art-Anderson's, 15 February 1934 (lot 11, Rosenbach, $5200). Now in the possession of Mrs Landon K. Thorne, of New York.

Exhib.: Nat. Gal., 1913, no. 91; Manchester, 1914, no. 152; Nat. Gall. Scotland, 1915, Case A, no. 5; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 54.

G [I] 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in brown. Vividly painted with bright water-colours, the tints rich and dramatic. Foliated by Blake 1–11. Arranged as above, except that the frontispiece is placed after the title. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size: 29·8 × 23·6 cm. Bound, together with *Thel*, copy J, in old straight-grain olive morocco, g.e.

See *Thel*, copy J. Bequeathed by Amy Lowell in 1925 to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 57.

H [E] 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in green. Painted with rather flat water-colour washes, the predominating tints being purple, brown and blue, probably by Mrs Blake. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the earlier state. Size: 36 × 25 cm. Bound, together with *Europe*, copy G, and the *Song of Los*, copy C, in old half red morocco.

Formerly in the collection of H. A. Mair, and sold with his library, Puttick and Simpson's, 19 November 1900 (lot 338, Quaritch, £225). Acquired that year by Marsden J. Perry, who sold it on 2 March 1908 to W. A. White. Given by him on 22 February 1917 to his daughter, Mrs William Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 15.

I [F] 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark E & P, on three leaves. Printed in green. Painted with light water-colour washes, predominating tints purple and blue. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the later state. Size: 34 × 25 cm. Bound in half green morocco, g.e.

This may be Sir William Tite's copy, sold at Sotheby's, 19 May 1874 (lot 293, Pearson, £30). Afterwards in the collection of Thomas Gaisford, with his book-plate. Sold with his library at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 188, Ellis, £26. 10*s*.), and was

acquired by William A. White. Now in the possession of his niece, Mrs Adrian Van Sinderen, of Brooklyn.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 16; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 55.

J [G] 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark E & P, on two leaves. Printed in green. Painted with light, simple water-colour washes, shades of blue, yellow and pink predominating, possibly by Mrs Blake. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the second state. Size: 38 × 26·5 cm., uncut. Bound in blue levant morocco, by Riviere.

Probably to be identified with a copy sold at Sotheby's, 1 June 1905 (lot 771, Leighton, £105), which had been in the collection of F. P. Osmaston. From 1906 to March 1920 in the possession of Dr Greville MacDonald who added his book-plate and by whom it was sold to Francis Edwards. Acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 20, Rosenbach, $3700). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Manchester, 1914, no. 151; Nat. Gall. Scotland, 1914, Case A, no. 7; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 56.

K* 11 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark E & P, on two leaves. Printed in green. Lightly painted with pale water-colour washes, possibly by Mrs Blake. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the second state. Size: 37·8 × 27 cm. Interleaved and bound in half green morocco, uncut, by De Coverly.

Formerly in the collection of J. Frederick Hall, whose signature dated 1878 is on the fly-leaf. Sold with the library of Arnold Hall at Sotheby's, 30 June 1927 (lot 268, Rimell, £7. 15*s*.). It had been catalogued as a facsimile, and was recognized as an original only by the purchaser. Offered for sale by Rimell together with *Thel*, copy M, and *America*, copy L, in 1927 for £1600. Acquired by Owen D. Young, who in 1941 gave it jointly with Dr A. A. Berg to the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, of the New York Public Library.

L [H] 11 plates on 6 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Painted with water-colours, purple and green predominating, possibly by Mrs Blake. Arranged as above. Size: 36 × 25 cm. Bound in half maroon morocco.

Early history unknown; possibly the copy sold at Hodgson's, 14 April 1904 (lot 514, Quaritch, £39), formerly copy P. Sold at Sotheby's, 28 July 1919 (lot 222, Maggs, £195). Acquired by Col. Henry D. Hughes, and sold with his books at American Art Association, 16 April 1923 (lot 117, James Williams, $1450). Then bought by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 21, Gannon, $2500). Not traced.

M [K] 11 plates on 6 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Simply painted with water-colour washes, possibly by Mrs Blake. Arranged as above. Pls. i, ii and 8 in the second state. Size: 37·2 × 26·7 cm. Bound in olive morocco, elaborately gilt, t.e.g., by Cockerell, 1904.

Said to have been originally in the Butts collection, but see copy B. Formerly in the collection of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and sold by his son, the

Earl of Crewe, Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 4, Edwards, £122). Acquired by Sir Algernon Methuen, and sold with his library, Sotheby's, 19 February 1936 (lot 503, Quaritch, £540). Now in the collection of Philip Hofer, of Harvard, on deposit in the Harvard College Library, in the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall. Brit. Art, 1913, no. 92; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 58.

N [L] 11 plates on 11 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815, on two leaves. Printed in brownish red. Painted with water-colours, some opaque pigment, and gold. Foliated by Blake 1–11. Arranged as above. Size: 28·5 × 22·5 cm. Bound in red morocco, by Riviere.

From the library of A. G. Dew-Smith, sold at Sotheby's, 29 January 1878 (lot 196, Quaritch, £30). Then in Frederick Locker-Lampson's library, though his book-plate has been removed. Sold with the Rowfant Library. Later in the possession of Mrs Harry Payne Whitney, of New York, and presumably now the property of her heirs.

O [M] 11 plates on 11 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815. Printed in golden-brown. Painted with water-colours; colouring very fine and more elaborate than usual, gold being used on the frontispiece. Foliated by Blake 1–11 within a single line ruled round each plate. Arranged as above. Size: 28 × 22 cm. Bound in calf.

On the fly-leaf at the beginning is pasted a piece cut from the original grey wrapper bearing the signature H. C. Robinson (i.e. Crabb Robinson) with a note added in a different hand: 'bought by him from Blake for he thinks 1 guinea & presented by him to Edwin W. Field 2 June 1865'. At the beginning is the book-plate of Edwin Wilkins Field, Hampstead; the frontispiece to Lavater's *Aphorisms* has been inserted at the end. Presented by the Misses Field to the Red Cross sale at Christie's, 26 April 1916 (lot 2099, Carthew, £210). Then acquired by Miss A. G. E. Carthew, of London, who added her book-plate. Bequeathed in 1940 by her to the Print Room of the British Museum.

P [N] 11 plates on 11 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815. Printed in red-brown. Very finely and carefully painted with water-colours. Each plate within a single framing line. Numbered by Blake 1–11. Arranged as above. Size: 28 × 23 cm. Bound in maroon straight-grain morocco, g.e.

Formerly bound in calf together with *Thel*, copy N, and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, copy G; this volume was sold at Sotheby's, 17 February 1890 (lot 301, Robson, £121). It was then divided up, and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* was sold to the late Alexander Mackay for £60. After the decease of his widow it was resold at Christie's, 26 April 1921 (lot 5, Riches, £260). Next in the collection of T. H. Riches, and later bequeathed by Mrs Riches to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C. 1927, no. 79.

Q [O] 11 plates on 11 leaves. Coloured. Size given as folio, uncut. Sewn.

A copy sold at Sotheby's on 22 February 1897 (lot 807, Gerrard, £20. 5*s*.).

[A copy stated to be in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich (see Arnold Federmann's *J. H. Füssli Dichter und Maler*, 1920, p. 60), is a facsimile. Examined in 1946 on my behalf.]

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: In *Works by William Blake*, 1876; William Muir, 1884, coloured (copy A); EY, iii; Dent, 1927, coloured (copy A).

THE | MARRIAGE | of | HEAVEN | and | HELL [including] A Song of Liberty [about 1790–1793]

DESCRIPTION

Title, 1 pl., *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 23 pls., *A Song of Liberty*, 3 pls. = 27 plates, 16 × 11 cm., relief etching, usually coloured.

CONTENTS

1. Title-page, *The Marriage*, etc. Above, on the outer shell of earth, figures are seen amid leafless trees. Below, the marriage of Heaven and Hell is symbolized as, from flames on the left, one nude figure floats to embrace another stretched on clouds to the right, while small figures rise in the centre.

2. *The Argument.* Begins: *Rintrah roars & shakes his fires in the burdend air.* From the branches of a tree extending up the right-hand margin of the plate a youth hands down a bunch of grapes to a girl standing below; two figures lie on the ground to the left. (Cf. 'The Ecchoing Green' in *Songs of Innocence.*)

3. Begins: *As a new heaven is begun.* Above, a naked woman floats among flames with arms outstretched; below, Enitharmon gives birth to Orc as two figures on the right flee towards clouds. (Cf. *The Four Zoas*, p. 9*b.*)

4. *The voice of the Devil.* Begins: *All Bibles or sacred codes.* Below, on the left the Good Angel strides across the sea to clasp a child; on the right the Evil Angel, fettered by one ankle, reaches out of flames towards them; behind is a rising sun. Above and between the lines are many small figures. (This subject of 'The Good and Evil Angels' Blake repeated in a large colour-printed drawing. Figgis describes this as 'The Jealousy of Los' stating that the figures are Los, Enitharmon and the infant Orc. However, Ellis and Yeats suggest that it is Los delivering up a child to Orc.)

5. Begins: *Those who restrain desire.* Above, a naked youth (Orc-Lucifer) falls down head foremost into flames with cloak, sword, horse and chariot wheel.

6. Begins: . . . [*Messi-*]*ah fell, & formed a heaven.* In the centre: *A Memorable Fancy*, beginning: *As I was walking among the fires of hell.* Flames rise under the title in the centre; some small figures are seen in them. Elsewhere on the plate are slight amorphous decorations.

7. Begins: . . . [*cor-*]*roding fires he wrote the following sentence.* Near the top: *Proverbs of Hell*, beginning: *In seed time learn.* Tiny figures appear on both sides of the title, and lower on the plate.

8. *Proverbs of Hell.* Begins: *Prisons are built with stones of Law.* Grapes, leaves, birds, a serpent, a lion, a deer, a sea with ships, and small figures are scattered in the margins.

9. *Proverbs of Hell.* Begins: *The fox provides for himself.* Several small figures are at the top and bottom.

10. *Proverbs of Hell.* Begins: *The head Sublime.* Below, Satan with bat's wings kneels in the centre at the shore of a sea with a long scroll unrolled across his knees, dictating his Proverbs to two women (Innocence on the right, Experience on the left), who sit on either side. In some copies there is no sea in the foreground. Above at the end of short lines are slight figures.

11. Begins: *The ancient Poets animated all sensible objects.* Above, the matron Earth lies on an islet and embraces the child Orc; Poetic Genius (Los) with flaming hair and arms upraised is rising out of the waves. In some copies the scene appears set in the mouth of a cave. Below, the child Orc flees before Urizen rising through a cloud. Slight decoration appears in the text.

12. *A Memorable Fancy.* Begins: *The Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel dined with me.* Small figures appear in the text.

13. Begins: *. . . would at last be proved to originate in ours.* Slight amorphous decoration with a few figures.

14. Begins: *The ancient tradition that the world will be consumed in fire.* Above, a female Emanation hovers in flames over a nude male corpse. Slight decorations in text.

15. *A Memorable Fancy.* Begins: *I was in a Printing house in Hell.* Below, an eagle rises above clouds with a snake in its talons. The clouds do not appear in some copies. Slight decorations in text.

16. Begins: *The Giants who formed this world.* Above five giants (the Five Senses) crouch in a huddled group with their knees drawn up to their chins. Slight decorations in text. (Cf. pl. 12 of *The Gates of Paradise.*)

17. Begins: *. . . to reconcile them seeks to destroy existence.* Near the top: *A Memorable Fancy*, beginning: *An Angel came to me and said.* Slight decorations, of which a tree, two horses, and birds are the most distinct.

18. Begins: *. . . root of an oak, he was suspended in a fungus.* No design.

19. Begins: *. . . us with all the fury of a spiritual existence.* Slight decorations in the text.

20. Begins: *. . . number of monkeys, baboons, & all of that species.* Below, a serpent Leviathan swims in huge coils in the Sea of Time and Space, beneath which is inscribed: *Opposition is true Friendship* (obscured in some copies by the pigment). Above him to the right is the tiny figure of Blake in the root of an oak.

21. Begins: *I have always found that Angels have the vanity.* Above, a naked youth—resurrected man—sits on the ground and gazes upwards; his left knee rests on a skull. In some copies a pyramid stands behind the youth; in copy D two have been painted in. (Cf. *America*, pl. 6, and illustrations to Blair's *Grave*, pl. 13.) Slight decorations in text.

22. Begins: *. . . one on earth that ever broke a net.* Near the bottom: *A Memorable Fancy*, beginning: *Once I saw a Devil in a flame of fire.* Slight decorations in text, the clearest of which near the title shows a bowman shooting another figure.

23. Begins: *. . . greatest men best, those who envy or calumniate.* Slight decorations in text.

24. Begins: *. . . [im]-pulse, not from rules.* Below, Nebuchadnezzar, a bearded man with a crown, crawls on hands and knees. At the bottom is inscribed: *One Law for the Lion & Ox is Oppression.* (This subject was used by Blake in a large colour-printed drawing, and two sketches for it appear in the Notebook (Rossetti MS.) on pp. 44 and 48.) Slight decorations in text.

25. *A Song of Liberty*, 1–10, beginning: *The Eternal Female groand!* Slight decoration in text.

26. Ditto, [10]–18, beginning: *. . .hurl'd the new born wonder.* Slight decoration in text.

27. Ditto, [18]–20, beginning: *. . .he promulgates his ten commands.* Near the centre, *Chorus*, beginning: *Let the Priests of the Raven of dawn.* Slight decoration in text, including several horses.

NOTE

It is apparent that the text of this work was written over a period of years, and the plates, too, may have been executed at different times. As has been pointed out by Sampson, the opening passage, 'As a new heaven is begun, and it is now thirty-three years since its advent', may refer to 'the new era of the dispensation of the Spirit' predicted by Swedenborg for 1757, which significantly was also the year of Blake's birth. The date 1790 was added by Blake on the third plate in copy F, and it is possible that the book may have been begun that year. Other evidences of an early date are the use of roman lettering, mixed with the italics which were consistently used in the later prophetic books, and the lucidity of the text which is relatively unobscured by Blake's mythological symbolism.

However, although the title-page is undated, 1793 would seem a more probable date for its completion. In the Notebook, page 44, the sketch for Nebuchadnezzar, which appears on pl. 24, follows those for *The Visions of the Daughters of Albion*. Even more significantly, the tone of the text reflects even more of Blake's post-Experience mood than *The Visions*, which is dated 1793, and *The Song of Liberty* foreshadows *America*, dated the same year.

The whole work, obviously inspired by Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell*, is nonetheless a rejection of his doctrines. In his *Memorable Fancy* Blake mocks Swedenborg's *Memorable Relations*. Yet, here is far more than a polemic or a satire. It is, with the exception of the two early laconic tractates, Blake's first attempt to explain the philosophy behind his myths. He believed that Good and Evil, God and Satan, Heaven and Hell, Right and Wrong, were mere verbal figureheads, all part of man and the creation of man. Good, God, Heaven and Right were the masks of reason, the limiting forces of materialism, law and codified religion, synonymous with restraint; opposed to them were Evil, Satan, Hell and Wrong, the expressions of free, unbounded energy, imaginative genius, poetic inspiration. The greatest spirits of the world, including Jesus and Milton, were inspired by 'hellish' genius in Blake's sense of the word. Paradoxically this was not demonolatry, but idealism and religion of the highest order. Faith, not reason, would bring on the millennium; freedom, not restraint, would permit the flowering of man's creative genius. The blending of flesh and spirit, of reason and imagination, to produce a synthesis greater than its parts—this was the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell.*

Nine complete copies and three fragments of the book have been located and are described below; the existence of a tenth is recorded only from secondary information. The volume varies in size from octavo (18·5 × 9·5 cm.) up to folio (about 38 × 27 cm.). A complete copy, including *A Song of Liberty*, consists of twenty-seven plates, which are printed sometimes on both sides of the leaf, sometimes on one side only. Copy B, one of the earlier ones, has the engraving known as 'The Three Accusers' added as a frontispiece. The last three

plates, with the text of *A Song of Liberty*, apparently in proof or experimental states, occur separately, and although Sampson (1913, p. xxx) considered this to be 'certainly a separate and later Prophecy, nearer in style and symbolism to *America*' there is no evidence that the book was ever issued by Blake without these plates. Gilchrist (i, 88) described the book as consisting of only twenty-four plates, but this was evidently an error, for the two copies which he afterwards mentioned both contain *A Song of Liberty*.

Except for copy B, all those known are coloured. Two of the earliest examples (A and C), with watermarks J WHATMAN and E & P, are simply painted with water-colours and printed in various shades of brown or green ink, much in the manner of early copies of the preceding books. Copy D, probably coloured in 1794–95 specially for Isaac D'Israeli, is somewhat richer in tone, with some opaque pigment used. Those in the next group, copies E and F, watermarked E & P, are illuminated with a rich combination of colour-printing and water-colours, in technique and style falling into the period about 1795 when Blake was creating his great colour-printed drawings. The three latest ones, dating from 1815 to 1825, are printed in red and painted with water-colours only, but in a richer and more splendid manner. Some gold was used in copies H and I, and in the former, which was bought by John Linnell in 1821, a book of extraordinary beauty, the text has been illuminated with various bright colours. Some of the overpainted designs vary slightly in different copies, as noted above, but the text does not, except for the experimental proofs of *A Song of Liberty*. There is no MS. authority for any of the text, but two of the designs (pls. 4 and 24) were also used by Blake in his larger colour prints known as 'The Good and Evil Angels' and 'Nebuchadnezzar', examples of both of which are now in the Tate Gallery, London; a sketch for the latter is found in the Notebook.

On a fly-leaf of the Cumberland-Beckford copy (A) are pencilled titles for the designs, which may have been invented by Cumberland or Beckford, but on the other hand may have been obtained by the former from Blake himself. The titles are as follows: pls. 1, The Union of the Elements; 2, Earth; 3, Fire; 4, Water; 5, Air; 11, The Dawn; 14, The Body of Hector; 15, Genius; 16, Ugolino; 20, A Dream; 21, Satan addressing the Sun; 24, The Arbitrary Power.

In the *Prospectus* of 1793 Blake advertised this book as 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, in Illuminated Printing. Quarto, with 14 designs, price 7*s*. 6*d*.' He had evidently reckoned among these fourteen designs the title-page and both the designs on pl. 4. A copy (A) was sold to George Cumberland about that time, and D'Israeli bought his (D) a year or two later. Thomas Butts acquired one (F) of those which Blake colour-printed. The book was not included in the lists of 1818 and 1827, but Blake's receipt for two guineas for copy H, sold to Linnell on 30 April 1821, is in the Yale University Library.

COPIES

A 27 plates on 15 leaves. Watermark E & P, on one leaf. Printed in golden brown. Very lightly painted with clear water-colours, blue and purple being the predominant tones. The legend below the design in pl. 20 can just be seen. Arranged as above. Size: 26·5 × 18·5 cm. Formerly bound in old half calf with *Thel*, copy A, and *Urizen*, copy F; now unbound and matted in half brown morocco case.

George Cumberland's copy, for history see *Thel*, copy A. After the death of E.W. Hooper, when the volume was divided up, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* came into the possession of his daughter, Mrs Bancel Lafarge, Mount Carmel, Connecticut, who bequeathed it in 1947 in memory of her father to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Boston, 1891, no. 3; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 34.

B [D] 27 plates on 15 leaves. No watermark. Printed in various shades of green and brown. Uncoloured except for slight water-colour washes on pls. 1–4. No pagination. Arranged as above with the addition of the second state of the plate known as 'The Three Accusers' as frontispiece, which is printed in green and lettered: *Our End is come* | *Published June* 5 1793 *by W. Blake Lambeth.* Size: 23·5 × 15 cm. Bound in half morocco.

According to an entry in the notebook of Francis Douce, now in the Ashmolean Museum, he bought this copy from Dyer in April 1821. It has Douce's book-plate inside the cover, and was bequeathed by him in 1835 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

C [F] 27 plates on 15 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on two leaves. Printed in green. Simply painted with clear water-colours, blue and pink predominating. Not paginated. Arranged as above. Size: 26·9 × 17·8 cm. Bound in contemporary tree calf, gilt, rebacked, with most lower edges untrimmed.

Sold at Sotheby's, 13 May 1892 (lot 1192, Bain, £50). Afterwards in the possession of Robert Hoe, with his book-plate, and sold with his library, Anderson's, 25 April 1911 (lot 391, Morgan, $3500). Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 12; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 38.

D [E] 27 plates on 27 leaves. Watermark I TAYLOR, on five leaves. Printed in blue-green, the designs sometimes in dark brown. Painted with bright water-colours, occasionally with some opaque pigment. The design on pl. 21 has two pyramids in the background. Foliated by Blake in ink 1–27, and arranged as above. Size: 38 × 26·5 cm., uncut. The leaves, which show Blake's stitch-holes, are mounted on hinges and were bound in boards, but are now in crimson morocco, by Macdonald.

The Beaconsfield copy, probably bought from Blake by Isaac D'Israeli about 1794. Sold with the Beaconsfield library at Sotheby's, 20 March 1882 (lot 61, Bain, £50), and acquired by B. B. Macgeorge, of Glasgow. Sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 115, Maggs, £660). Then in the possession of George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his books at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 35, Rosenbach, $8800). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 37.

E [B] 27 plates on 27 leaves. Watermark E & P, on three leaves. Printed in shades of brown. The larger designs colour-printed, with much red, some water-colour washes added; the small illustrations frequently executed in deep-toned water-colours only, blue predominating. The pigments on some of the designs were much darkened, but were restored at the British Museum in 1912. Ink framing lines round most plates.

Pl. 18 is uncoloured. Foliated in pencil. Arrangement: 1–3, 5–10, 4, 11, 14, 12, 13, 16–27, 15. Size: 26·9 × 20 cm. Bound in half maroon roan.

Purchased for £60 from Quaritch's Rough List, no. 157, by W. A. White, with his signature dated 30 April 1896. Acquired after his death in 1927 by his daughter, Mrs William Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 11; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 35.

F [c] 27 plates on 27 leaves. Watermark E & P, on seven leaves. Printed in grey and olive-green. Designs colour-printed and carefully finished and heightened with water-colours. No foliation. Arranged as above. On pl. 3 below the upper design Blake has added the date 1790 in blue ink. Size: 26·3 × 19·5 cm. Bound in orange morocco, with the Milnes crest on the sides.

Originally in the possession of Thomas Butts, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 52, R. Monckton Milnes, £5. 5*s*.). In the possession of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and sold by his son, the Earl of Crewe, at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 12, Osmaston, £260). On the front fly-leaf is the signature of F. P. Osmaston, who offered it at Sotheby's, 1 June 1905 (lot 770), but apparently withdrew it at £150. Presented by him to the Red Cross sale at Christie's, 5 April 1917 (lot 1987, Stevens and Brown, £350). Then in the collection of A. Edward Newton, with his book-plate, and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 135, Rosenbach, $6300). Now in the possession of Mrs Landon K. Thorne, of New York.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 36.

G 27 plates on 27 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815, on seven leaves. Printed in red-brown. Superbly painted with bright water-colours; outlines strengthened in ink; each plate with a single framing line. Numbered in red by Blake 1–27. Arrangement: 1–11, 15, 14, 12, 13, 16–27. The legend at the bottom of pl. 20 can be read. Size: 28·3 × 23·2 cm. Formerly bound in calf, together with *Thel*, copy N, and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy P; now in blue straight-grain morocco, g.e.

The volume containing the three books was sold at Sotheby's, 17 February 1890 (lot 301, Robson, £121). It was then divided up, and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* was sold to Alexander Mackay for £63. After the death of his widow it was resold at Christie's, 26 April 1921 (lot 3, 'Shoebridge', £460). Acquired in 1922 from Gabriel Wells by Amy Lowell, and bequeathed by her in 1925 to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 39.

H [1] 27 plates on 15 leaves. No watermark. Printed in red. Richly painted with water-colours, heightened with gold; parts of the text illuminated with various bright tints. Paginated by Blake in red 1–27. Arranged as above. Size: 20·5 × 13·5 cm. Bound in vellum, gilt.

According to the receipt at Yale University this copy was bought from Blake by John Linnell on 30 April 1821 for two guineas. Sold with the Linnell collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 195, Carfax, £756). Then in the possession of T. H. Riches, whose

widow, a grand-daughter of John Linnell, afterwards deposited it in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It was bequeathed to the Museum at her death in 1950.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall., 1913, no. 90; Manchester, 1914, no. 146; B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 74.

I [II] 27 plates on 27 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1825. Printed in brick-red. Richly painted with water-colours, heightened with gold. Each plate surrounded by a single painted line. Foliated by Blake in red 1–27. Arranged as above. Size: 30 × 23 cm. Leaves mounted on guards in half leather binding.

Formerly in the possession of the Rev. Richard Edward Kerrich, the son of Thomas Kerrich, University Librarian, with the signature of the former, dated 31 August 1856, on the fly-leaf. Bequeathed by Kerrich in 1872 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

K A fragment, 4 plates on 2 leaves. No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Consists of pls. 21–24; the design is omitted from pl. 24. Size: 24 × 14·5 cm. Bound in morocco, by Riviere.

These leaves were found loose in copy Z of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* by C. Fairfax Murray, and bequeathed to him by Sir F. Burton. Given in 1912 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

L A fragment, three plates on a double leaf. Watermark C BALL. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Consists of pls. 25–27; pl. 25 is in an earlier state than any other known, with paragraph 6 reading: 'And weep and bow thy reverend locks', the last five words being afterwards erased. Size: 21·7 × 17·5 cm., untrimmed. Unbound.

From the John Linnell collection, sold at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 197, Tregaskis, £11. 11*s.*). Acquired by Frank Rinder, and now in the possession of Mrs Rinder.

M Similar to L, but described as 'on 8° paper', and 'without the 8-line Chorus at the end'.

From the John Linnell collection, sold at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 198, Tregaskis, £8. 18*s.* 6*d.*). Not traced.

N 27 plates on 27 leaves. Coloured. Uncut.

Thomas Gaisford's copy, sold at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 193, Quaritch, £2. 11*s.*), described as '27 numbered leaves with exquisite designs, coloured by Blake, uncut'. This may be the copy which A. G. B. Russell said was in the possession of Mrs Crawfurd, widow of Oswald Crawfurd, C.M.G., who had acquired it many years ago. Not traced.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: Swinburne, *Critical Essay*, 1868, pls. 1, 8, and 20, coloured; Camden Hotten, 1868, coloured; William Muir, 1885, coloured (copy A); EY, iii; Keynes, *Bibliography*, 1921, pls. 8 and 20, coloured (copy H); Dent, 1927, coloured (copy I), with introduction by Max Plowman.

AMERICA | a | PROPHECY | LAMBETH | Printed by William Blake in the year 1793

Description

Frontispiece, title, 2 pls., *Preludium*, 2 pls., *A Prophecy*, 14 pls. = 18 plates, about 24 × 17 cm., relief etching, sometimes painted with water-colours.

Contents

[i] Frontispiece. On the left, Albion's Angel, a winged giant, sits blocking a breach in a massive wall, his wrists chained and his head buried between his knees. On the right sits a daughter of Beulah sheltering her two infant Joys; in the foreground are a cannon and a broken sword. (Damon suggests that the giant figure is Urizen, but Binyon seems correct in identifying it as Albion's Angel.)

[ii] Title-page. *America*, etc. In the centre an old man and a woman sit reading back to back, with infant Joys around them; below, a female Emanation strives to revive a dead man with kisses.

1. *Preludium.* (This word is printed from a small separate plate, 2·5 × 8·5 cm., and is not found in the earlier or posthumous copies.) Begins: *The shadowy daughter of Urthona stood before red Orc.* Above, Orc, a naked boy, is fettered spread-eagle by wrists and ankles to the Rock of Jealousy beneath the Tree of Mystery, as Los and Enitharmon stand looking down at him in attitudes of horror;[1] the roots of the tree extend down the left-hand margin of the plate, and below are a crouching figure and a coiling worm.

2. Begins: *Silent as despairing love, and strong as jealousy.* Below, Orc emerges from the rocky ground; on the left is a vine, its tendrils winding up the margin of the plate. The plate contains four lines below the figure, beginning *The Stern Bard ceas'd, asham'd of his own songs,* and the roots of the vine extend down the page, but in almost every copy Blake covered the lower quarter of the plate so that it would not print and these lines do not appear.

3. *A Prophecy.* Begins: *The Guardian Prince of Albion burns in his nightly tent.* Above are birds and a manacled figure floating upwards; in the centre a figure blows a trumpet from which issue flames; and below three nude figures fly from tongues of flame which burn from between lines of text.

4. Begins: *Appear to the Americans upon the cloudy night.* Above, War as a winged dragon pursues Urizen, who with his books of Law and sceptre plunges downwards into clouds; below, two naked men, one of them clasping a small draped figure, kneel in terror among fallen trees.

[1] Cf. the engraving by Blake known as 'The Chaining of Orc', 1813 (see Russell, *Engravings*, p. 93), and *The Four Zoas*, p. 30*b*.

5. Begins: *Albions Angel stood beside the Stone of night, and saw.* Above, in the centre a naked man ascends a cloud, bearing a figure on his shoulders; on the left another floats carrying an unbalanced pair of scales; on the right a third ascends with a flaming sword; below, two figures fall headlong into flames, the central one within the coils of a serpent with a spiral tail.

6. Begins: *The morning comes, the night decays, the watchmen leave their stations.* Above a naked youth sits on a grave and gazes upwards; beside him is a skull; below are a thistle, newt, fly, toad, and worm, types of mortality (cf. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, pl. 21, and illustrations to *Blair's Grave*, pl. 13).

7. Begins: *In thunders ends the voice. Then Albions Angel wrathful burnt.* A birch-tree with birds on its branches arches up on the left and droops gracefully above; beneath it lie the boy Har and the girl Heva sleeping nestled up to a ram.

8. Begins: *The terror answered: I am Orc, wreath'd round the accursed tree.* Above, Urizen in the clouds stretches out his arms over the Sea of Time and Space which lies below. (Cf. *All Religions are One*, pl. 4.)

9. Begins: *Sound! sound! my loud war-trumpets & alarm my Thirteen Angels!* Below, Man, as a new-born infant, lies almost hidden among overarching stalks of wheat.

10. Begins: *Thus wept the Angel voice & as he wept the terrible blasts.* Below the naked Orc emerges through flames with outstretched arms.

11. Begins: *Fiery the Angels rose, & as they rose deep thunder roll'd.* Above, a nude youth rides on a flying swan; below, under the moon and stars three child Joys sit astride a serpent (cf. *Thel*, pl. 6). The serpent has a confusing multiplicity of tails, which in some copies Blake changed to a single tail by leaving portions of the plate uncoloured in the printing.

12. Begins: *So cried he, rending off his robe & throwing down his scepter.* Below, an aged man on crutches enters the door of a tomb; to the right are the trunks of two trees, which extend up the left-hand margin and across the top, on the extreme right is seen a stormy landscape (cf. *The Gates of Paradise*, pl. 15, and illustrations to Blair's *Grave*, pl. 13).

13. Begins: *What time the thirteen Governors that England sent convene.* Above, the body of a woman (Oothoon), cast up upon the rocks at the edge of the sea, is being rent by a vulture; below, fishes devour the drowned body of a man at the bottom of the sea.

14. Begins: *In the flames stood & view'd the armies drawn out in the sky.* In the centre beneath the leafless Tree of Mystery a youth reclines with his elbows on two books, and listens to the words of Rahab, a naked woman, between whose knees appears a serpent; below is a fish-like animal with a tongue of flame.

15. Begins: *On Albions Angels: then the Pestilence began in streaks of red.* Below four female souls cower and one floats among flames; on the left a figure whose limbs end in roots appears in the margin, and above this a woman crouches beneath a tree.

16. Begins: *Over the hills, the vales, the cities, rage the red flames fierce.* Above, the woman Earth with long flowing hair kneels in prayer; on and about her are small figures in various attitudes, and behind are fantastic tree forms; below *Finis* appears in a tangle of thorny flowers and a serpent.

CANCELLED PLATES

a. *A Prophecy*. Begins: *The Guardian Prince of Albion burns in his nightly tent*. The design is similar to that on pl. 3, but differs from it in detail; on the left, opposite the flaming trumpet, is a standing figure with a banner which is omitted from the published design. There are variations in the text.

b. Begins: *Reveal the dragon thro' the human*. The design is similar to that on pl. 4, but differs in detail; the text is completely different and takes up more room so that the figures are smaller.

c. Begins: *Then Albions Angel rose resolv'd*. The text is completely different and the design of figures extending along the left-hand side is not found elsewhere; at top, a nude male figure sits on a cloud with legs apart and head down on arms; below him, another plunges downward blowing a trumpet; at bottom, a man, facing away, holds a woman with upraised arms.

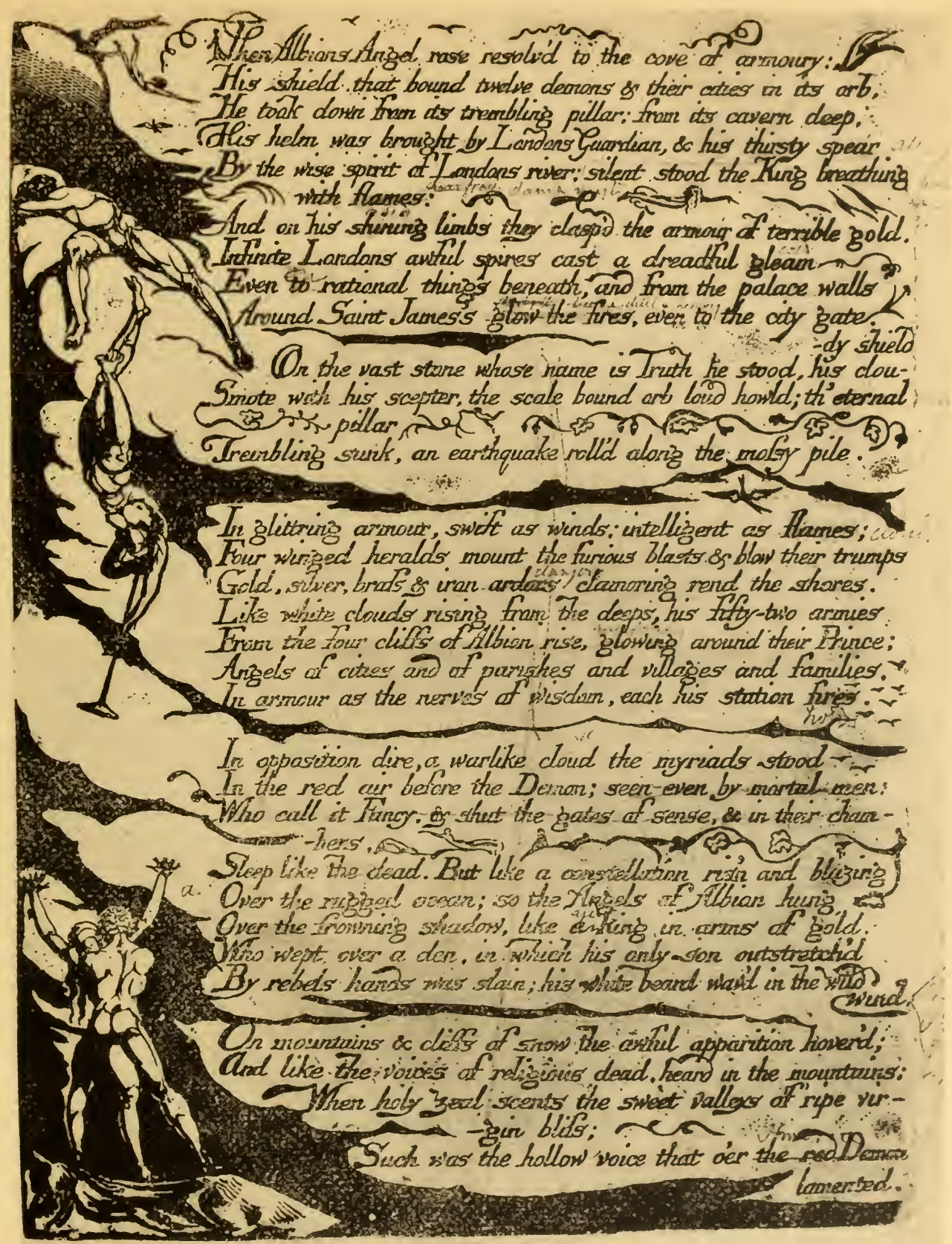
d. Begins: *As when a dream of Thiralatha flies the midnight hour*. The semi-nude figure of Thiralatha sits with bowed head beneath an over-bending tree; to the left, a nude woman, her Dream, reaches up to hold and kiss a flying infant.

NOTE

The title-page of *America* is dated 1793, and it was the last book finished that year. In Blake's cycle of man's development *America* opens the period of revolt. For him, as for other liberals of the eighteenth century, the American Revolution appeared as the dawn of the millennium. So, fitting history to his pattern and disregarding its details, Blake endued the event with mystical significance. The hero of *America* is Orc, mankind in revolt; the villain is the Guardian Prince of Albion, or oppression, aided by the repressive forces of Urizen, the God of Dogma. Historical figures are introduced—Washington, Franklin, Hancock and others—but the drama is set in infinite space where finally the triumphant flames of rebellion consume all material things, leaving only the ultimate spiritual eternity.

Blake apparently had moments of doubt in the composition of this book. There are in existence three, and probably four, rejected proof plates, beginning with *A Prophecy* on pl. 4, much as in the published version, and continuing on, with completely different text for three more plates. It is probable that these plates were Blake's first version of *America*. Although it has not been suggested before, the text of the four can well be continuous, and may have been the original beginning of the poem. In style, the verse resembles that of *The French Revolution*, printed in 1791. It is noteworthy that George III figures as a character in the rejected text, so that it is possible that the suppression was Blake's discretion overcoming his valour. The English government was at the time rather ruthlessly trying to wipe out subversive (i.e. anti-monarchical) thought, and his friend Tom Paine's narrow escape may have convinced Blake that symbolism was far safer than realism if he persisted in writing a basically revolutionary poem.

The first three proofs, now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, were printed in full for the first time in the *Bibliography*, 1921. The fourth, printed first in Hodgson's sale catalogue of 14 January 1904, is not known to exist in proof state, but the text was read by A. G. B. Russell from a blind impression on a colour-printed copy of the design (see *The*



When Albions Angel rose resolv'd to the cove of armoury:
His shield that bound twelve demons & their cities in its orb,
He took down from its trembling pillar: from its cavern deep,
His helm was brought by Londons Guardian, & his thirsty spear
By the wise spirit of Londons river: silent stood the King breathing with flames:
And on his shining limbs they clasp'd the armour of terrible gold.
Infinite Londons awful spires cast a dreadful gleam
Even to rational things beneath, and from the palace walls
Around Saint James's glow the fires, even to the city gate.

On the vast stone whose name is Truth he stood, his clou-dy shield
Smote with his sceptre, the scale bound orb loud howld; th' eternal pillar
Trembling sunk, an earthquake roll'd along the moisy pile.

In glittring armour, swift as winds: intelligent as flames;
Four winged heralds mount the furious blasts & blow their trumps
Gold, silver, brass & iron ardors clamoring rend the shores.
Like white clouds rising from the deeps, his fifty-two armies
From the four cliffs of Albion rise, glowing around their Prince:
Angels of cities and of parishes and villages and families.
In armour as the nerves of wisdom, each his station fires.

In opposition dire, a warlike cloud the myriads stood
In the red air before the Demon; seen even by mortal men:
Who call it Fancy, & shut the gates of sense, & in their cham-bers,
Sleep like the dead. But like a constellation rein and blazing
Over the rugged ocean; so the Angels of Albion hung
Over the frowning shadow, like a King in arms of gold.
Who wept over a den, in which his only son outstretchd
By rebels hands was slain; his white beard waivd in the wild wind.

On mountains & cliffs of snow the awful apparition hoverd;
And like the voices of religious dead, heard in the mountains:
When holy Zeal scents the sweet valleys of ripe vir-gin bliss;
Such was the hollow voice that o'er the red Demon lamented.

Large Book of Designs, copy B, pl. 8). While it has never been certain that this plate was intended for *America*, Damon and others have so assumed, and the text, as noted above, can well follow on after that on pl. c.

There were a few other changes which Blake effected as he issued copies. Below the design on pl. 2 in copy A are four lines which were not noticed and not printed before the Philadelphia exhibition catalogue of 1939. Apparently Blake changed his mind about the lines, and in all the copies after the first, until some time after 1812, he covered the lower quarter of the design with paper or board so that it would not print. Also after the first two copies he felt the need for a heading for pl. 2, and so, since the plate was already etched, he made an extra small plate with the word *Preludium*. Except for copies M and O, at the time of the printing of which Blake may have mislaid the little plate, and the posthumous copy P, by which time it was probably lost, all copies after A and B have the added plate. One other variation occurs. The serpent on pl. 11 has as etched a confusing multiplicity of tails. Rather than correct the plate, Blake merely left uncoloured the sections he did not want to show, as a result of which only a single tail appears in some copies.

There are sixteen copies of *America* for which descriptions are available, and one more copy recorded only through a dealer's catalogue. The book is a folio, about 36 × 26 cm., and consists of eighteen plates; copies C–L are printed on both sides of the leaf, the rest one side only. Their constitution and arrangement does not vary. The earliest two copies (A and B), both on paper watermarked J WHATMAN 1794, are printed in shades of brown. Copies C–L, all but the last with the watermark E & P, are printed in varying tones of green and blue. Copy M, also in blue and green, is on paper watermarked HAYES & WISE 1799, which does not seem to have been used elsewhere by Blake. The later copies, 1812–32, are in black or shades of red.

Comparatively few were coloured, except for very slight touches of wash. Of the coloured ones copy A is richly, but rather sombrely, painted with water-colours, copies K and M rather more brightly executed also in water-colours, and O very richly illuminated in Blake's later splendid manner. The water-colour on copy Q is modern. The plates were in existence after Blake's death, and one copy printed from them in 1832 is recorded below, but they have now disappeared. However, a fragment of the original copper from which pl. a was printed—the only surviving copper of any of Blake's relief-etched books—was found in a cabinet belonging to Thomas Butts, and is now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress.

In the *Prospectus* of 1793 Blake advertised this work as 'America, a Prophecy, in Illuminated Printing. Folio, with 18 designs, price 10*s*. 6*d*.'. In 1818 he offered it as 'America, 18 prints, folio £5. 5. 0', and in 1827 the price was £6. 6*s*. In 1799 Blake gave a copy (B) to C. H. Tatham; Thomas Butts bought a copy (F); Benjamin West owned one (K); and copy O, formerly in John Linnell's possession, may have been bought by him from Blake in 1822.

COPIES

*a** proofs — 9 plates on 6 leaves. No watermark. Printed in various colours, chiefly shades of brown or green. Uncoloured. Consists of i, 2, a–b, 9–10, c, 13, 13. Pl. c has numerous pencilled corrections and changes by Blake. Various sizes as large as or inlaid to 31·3 × 23·8. Bound in blue morocco, by Macdonald.

These are proofs or rejected impressions which were formerly in the possession of George Smith, and were bound up by him with other miscellaneous Blake items in a volume containing Cunningham's *Life of William Blake*. Sold with his library at Christie's, April 1880 (£66). Then offered in Quaritch's *General Catalogue*, 1887 (no. 10252, £80). Acquired through William Muir by B. B. Macgeorge of Glasgow, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 133, Parsons, £345). Purchased by George C. Smith, Jr., who broke up the collection and bound most of the items separately. This volume was sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 23, Rosenbach, $500). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 67.

A 19 plates on 19 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, on four leaves. Printed in brown.
[B] Rather sombrely, but richly, painted with water-colours, with a good deal of tan, grey, and prussian blue. Foliated, after the title-page, by Blake 1–16. Pl. 1 without the word *Preludium*, pl. 2 with the extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. With a duplicate uncoloured variant impression of pl. 4, without the last four lines of the text. Size: 32·3 × 24 cm. Unbound, and matted, in half blue morocco case.

This copy was originally bound up with *The Song of Los*, copy B, and other designs. It was sold separately in an anonymous sale at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 (lot 222, Quaritch, £207), and was acquired about 1909 for The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 61.

B 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, on five leaves. Printed in sepia.
[A] Uncoloured, except for very slight grey wash on title-page. No foliation. Pl. 1 without the word *Preludium*, pl. 2 without extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size: 36·9 × 25·9 cm. Bound in citron morocco, inlaid with red morocco to a Lyonnese design, g.e., by F. Bedford.

Inscribed on the recto of the frontispiece: 'From the author to C. H. Tatham Octr. 7 1799.' Said to have been sold in 1874, unbound, for £18. Sold on 29 January 1878, with the library of A. G. Dew-Smith (lot 247, Pearson, £16. 5*s*.) Later in the collection of Thomas Gaisford, with his book-plate. Sold with his library at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 189, Quaritch, £61), and acquired by B. B. Macgeorge, of Glasgow. Sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 114, Maggs, £215). Then bought by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold again with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 22, Rosenbach, $2600). Now in the possession of Mrs Landon K. Thorne, of New York.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall., 1913, no. 95; Manchester, 1914, no. 162; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 60.

C 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P, on two leaves. Printed in blue-grey, grey,
[G] and grey-green. Uncoloured. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size: 36·8 × 26 cm. Bound in contemporary half maroon morocco, g.e.

Sold anonymously at Sotheby's, 28 July 1919 (lot 221, Sabin, £100). Acquired by Col. Henry D. Hughes of Philadelphia, and sold with his library, American Art Associa-

tion, 22 April 1924 (lot 63, G. Wells, $950). Offered to G.K. by Dulau and Co., London, in May 1927 for £200 (Cat. 149). Subsequently obtained from J. F. Drake by Rosenbach, and sold by them in 1936 to Philip Hofer; on deposit in the Harvard College Library, in the Department of Graphic Arts.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 63.

D [C] 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P, on one leaf. Printed in dull green and blue. Uncoloured. No pagination. Size: 36·5 × 26 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e.

This copy, then sewn and uncut, was sold at Sotheby's, 19 March 1888 (lot 154, Barnes, £23), and was acquired in 1891 by William A. White. Resold by him with 'selections from the important library of a Brooklyn collector' at Anderson's, 27 October 1911 (lot 18, $625). Not traced.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 18.

E [D] 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E. & P. on leaves 8 and 10. Printed in various shades of dull green. Uncoloured, except for very slight grey wash on title-page. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without the extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with many tails. Size: 37·8 × 26·8 cm., uncut. Bound in brown levant morocco by the Club Bindery, 1908.

According to a note in the autograph of W. A. White, purchased by him on 21 December 1895 for £33 from Pearson. Acquired with other White books by Rosenbach in 1929, at which time it was sold to Lessing J. Rosenwald and is now in that collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 19; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 62.

F [E] 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P. Printed in grey-green. Uncoloured, except for some grey wash on title-page. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without extra lines, and the serpent in pl. 11 with three tails. Size: 36·5 × 25·5 cm. Bound in yellow morocco, together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy B, and the *Song of Los*, copy D.

Originally bought from Blake by Thomas Butts, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 54, F. T. Palgrave, £11). Palgrave's signature, dated 1852, is on the recto of the frontispiece. In 1852 the volume also contained *Europe*, copy D, which has since become separated from it. In 1859 it was acquired by the British Museum Reading Room. Transferred to the Print Room in 1953.

G* 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P, on one leaf. Printed in grey-green. Uncoloured. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without extra lines, and serpent in pl. 11 with many tails. Size: 37·5 × 27 cm. In a roxburghe binding, with *Europe*, copy B, and *Jerusalem*, copy B.

Formerly in the collection of P. A. Hanrott, and sold with the first part of his library at Evans's, 19 July 1833 (lot 642, French, £4). Bought by Henry Cunliffe from C. J. Toovey, with Cunliffe's book-plate and the note 'Toovey 10-10-0'. Bequeathed by him to his great-nephew, the present Lord Cunliffe.

H [F] 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P. Printed in dull blue. Uncoloured. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size: 34·5 × 24·5 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e.

Purchased from Messrs Evans in 1856 for the British Museum Print Room.

I [H] 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P, on three leaves. Printed in dark green. Uncoloured. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without the extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with many tails. Size: 36·3 × 25·7 cm. Bound in green levant morocco, g.e., by Bedford.

Frederick Locker-Lampson's copy, with his book-plate. Acquired in 1905 through Dodd, Mead and Co. from the Rowfant Library by E. Dwight Church. Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

K [I] 18 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark E & P, on one leaf. Printed in shades of brown and green. Painted with bright and heavy water-colour washes. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with many tails. Size: 38 × 27 cm., uncut. Leaves loose, in brown morocco case.

Benjamin's West's copy. Offered for sale by Tregaskis many years ago, lacking the frontispiece, having been bought by him at Christie's (£30). Then acquired by Michael Tomkinson, and resold with his library at Sotheby's, 3 July 1922 (lot 1153, Dobell, £90). Next in the collection of W. E. Moss, and sold with his books at Sotheby's, 2 March 1937 (lot 169, Gabriel Wells, £620). Then acquired by Chauncey B. Tinker. The frontispiece, with a note that it came from Benjamin West's copy, was sold separately at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 (lot 229, Maggs, £20. 15*s*.), and was acquired by Sir Frederick Pollock. Resold at Sotheby's, 15 June 1937 (lot 347, Gabriel Wells, £29), and was then reunited with the rest of the book. Inserted is a slip of paper bearing on it an introduction for W. Blake from William Hayley to Lady Portarlington,[1] giving an account of his circumstances. Now in Yale University Library, New Haven.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C. 1927, no. 80; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 64.

L* 18 plates on 10 leaves. No watermark. Printed in black and greenish black. Uncoloured. No pagination. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, pl. 2 without the extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with many tails. Size: 38·2 × 26·5 cm. Bound in half green morocco, uncut, by De Coverly, and interleaved.

Formerly in the collection of J. Frederick Hall, whose signature dated 1879 is on the fly-leaf. Sold with the library of Arnold Hall at Sotheby's, 30 June 1927 (lot 267, Hollings, £4). It had been catalogued as a facsimile reprint, and was not recognized. Afterwards bought from Hollings by Rimell who offered it for sale together with *Thel*, copy M, and *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy K, in 1927, for £1600. Acquired by Owen D. Young, who in 1941 gave it jointly with Dr A. A. Berg to the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, of the New York Public Library.

M [K] 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark HAYES & WISE 1799, on five leaves. Printed in blue and green. Elaborately painted with bright water-colours, blue predominating. The

[1] Sister of the first Marquess of Bute: see *Songs of Innocence*, copy M (p. 15).

last sixteen leaves foliated in blue by Blake 1–16. On pl. 1 the word *Preludium* is painted in by hand in blue instead of being printed, pl. 2 without the extra lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size: 37·3 × 26·8 cm., uncut. Bound in brown morocco, by the Club Bindery, 1908.

Formerly in the collection of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and referred to by Gilchrist, i, 109. Sold by Lord Houghton's son, the Earl of Crewe, at Sotheby's, 30 May 1903 (lot 3, Quaritch, £295), and then acquired by W. A. White. Now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs William Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 17.

N* 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark R & T, on eight leaves, and RUSE & TURNERS 1812, on ten leaves. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Arranged as above, except that pl. 8 follows pl. 10 (presumably an error in binding). Foliated by Blake 1–18. Pl. 1 with *Preludium*, and pl. 2 with the extra lines. Size: 32·5 × 24 cm. Bound in red flowered cloth with red leather spine, together with *Europe*, copy I.

A pencilled note on the front fly-leaf by Sir George Grey states: 'I purchased this book at the Sale of the effects of a deceased artist (I forget his name) who had obtained it direct from Blake.' Now in the Sir George Grey Collection, Auckland Public Library, New Zealand.

O [N] 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1818 and 1820. Printed in orange-red. Richly painted with water-colours and gold, each plate with a single water-colour framing line. Foliated by Blake 1–18. Pl. 1 without *Preludium*, pl. 2 with added lines, the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size: 30·5 × 23·5 cm. Bound in vellum, together with *Europe*, copy K.

John Linnell's copy. It is possible that this volume was purchased by Linnell from Blake on 1 March 1822, for a receipt of that date in Yale University Library is for 'Three Pounds on Acco^{t}', and cannot otherwise be identified. Sold with the Linnell collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 172, Carfax, 750 guineas). Then acquired by T. H. Riches, and bequeathed by Mrs Riches to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall., 1913, no. 96; Manchester, 1914, no. 145; B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 81 (2).

P 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1832. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. The copper-plate maker's stamp can be seen on several leaves. Frontispiece follows title-page. Pl. 1 without the word *Preludium*, pl. 2 with the added lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size: 28 × 22·5 cm. Bound in contemporary morocco, elaborately tooled, g.e., together with *Europe*, copy M.

Samuel Boddington's copy, with his book-plate inside the cover. Afterwards in the possession of Charles Fairfax Murray, who presented it in 1912 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Q [M] 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark T STAINS, on all leaves, except pl. 14 which has the partially eradicated date 18 [13?]. Printed in black. Recently painted with water-colours

in imitation of copy A. Foliated 1–18. The copper-plate maker's stamp can be seen on the title-page. Pl. 1 without the word *Preludium*, pl. 2 with the added lines, and the serpent on pl. 11 with one tail. Size originally: 33·5 × 22·5 cm., now 26·5 × 22·5 cm. Bound in blue morocco, gilt, by Riviere.

Formerly in the possession of R. A. Potts, at which time it was bound in grey calf, together with *Europe*, copy L. Sold from his collection at Sotheby's, 20 February 1913 (lot 59, Sabin, £66). The volume was then broken up, colouring added for Walter T. Spencer, each work bound separately by Riviere, and sold as original colouring to Herschel V. Jones. Due to this the book was originally listed as copies L and M. Three coloured drawings supposedly by Blake, but actually after him, were added at this time. They are enlarged versions of the designs on pls. ii and 17, and were probably done for J. Camden Hotten. Sold with the Jones library at Anderson's, 2 December 1918 (lot 183, Rosenbach, $3600). Next in the possession of A. Edward Newton, who added his book plate, and sold as 'posthumously colored' with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 127, Wells, $5500). Acquired by Fred W. Allsopp, and resold with his books at Parke-Bernet, 3 December 1946 (lot 21, Paul H. Anderson, agent, $6000). Not traced.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 65.

R* 18 plates. Printed in blue. Uncoloured. Bound in half green morocco, g.e.

Offered in Quaritch's *General Catalogue*, 1883 (no. 10251, £36). Perhaps to be identified with one of the above copies, since rebound.

Facsimile reproductions: In *Works by William Blake*, 1876; William Muir, 1887, plain and coloured; EY, iii, reduced; Albion Facsimile [1949].

TO THE PUBLIC. October 10, 1793.

Description

A single plate, relief etching.

Contents

Begins: *The Labours of the Artist, the Poet, the Musician, have been proverbially attended by poverty and obscurity.* Blake draws attention to his new method of book-production, and after a eulogy of himself gives a list of the works on sale at Mr Blake's, No. 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth, as follows:

1. Job, a Historical Engraving. Size 1 ft. 7½ in. by 1 ft. 2 in.: price 12*s.*
2. Edward and Elinor, a Historical Engraving. Size 1 ft. 6½ in. by 1 ft.: price 10*s.* 6*d.*
3. America, a Prophecy, in Illuminated Printing. Folio, with 18 designs, price 10*s.* 6*d.*
4. Visions of the Daughters of Albion, in Illuminated Printing. Folio, with 8 designs, price 7*s.* 6*d.*
5. The Book of Thel, a Poem in Illuminated Printing. Quarto, with 6 designs, price 3*s.*
6. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, in Illuminated Printing. Quarto, with 14 designs, price 7*s.* 6*d.*
7. Songs of Innocence, in Illuminated Printing. Octavo, with 25 designs, price 5*s.*
8. Songs of Experience, in Illuminated Printing. Octavo, with 25 designs, price 5*s.*
9. The History of England, a small book of Engravings. Price 3*s.*
10. The Gates of Paradise, a small book of Engravings. Price 3*s.*

Note

This characteristic prospectus is exceedingly rare, and no copy has been located. The details are derived from Gilchrist, ii, 285.

Copy

A single leaf. Plate printed in blue. Size: about 28 × 19 cm.

A copy was seen by Gilchrist, who obtained it through the late W. E. Frost, A.R.A., but it is not recorded to whom it belonged. In Frost's copy of Gilchrist he wrote a note complaining that 'If Mr. Gilchrist had lived to complete this work my assistence would have been handsomely acknowledged—but the work passed through Alien hands, the Rossetti's P.R.B.!!! and they omitted to do so.' It seems possible that the leaf of *To the Public* belonged to him.

SONGS | Of | INNOCENCE | and Of | EXPERIENCE | Shewing the Two Contrary States | of the Human Soul

Sub-title a: SONGS | of | INNOCENCE | 1789 | The Author & Printer W Blake

Sub-title b: SONGS | of | EXPERIENCE | 1794 | The Author & Printer W Blake

DESCRIPTION

General title, frontispiece and sub-title a, 3 pls., *Songs of Innocence*, 24 pls., frontispiece and sub-title b, 2 pls., *Songs of Experience*, 25 pls. =54 plates, about 11 × 7 cm., relief etching, painted with water-colours.

CONTENTS

1. [General title-page], Songs, etc.
2. [Frontispiece. The Piper]
3. [Sub-title a], Songs, etc.
4. Introduction
5. The Shepherd
6–7. The Ecchoing Green
8. The Lamb
9–10. The Little Black Boy
11. The Blossom
12. The Chimney Sweeper
13. The Little Boy lost
14. The Little Boy found
15. Laughing Song
16–17. A Cradle Song
18. The Divine Image
19. Holy Thursday
20–21. Night
22–23. Spring
24. Nurse's Song
25. Infant Joy
26. A Dream
27. On Another's Sorrow
28. [Frontispiece. Cherub on shepherd's head.]
29. [Sub-title b], Songs, etc.
30. Introduction
31. Earth's Answer
32. The Clod & the Pebble
33. Holy Thursday
34–36. The Little Girl Lost [and] The Little Girl Found
37. The Chimney Sweeper
38. Nurse's Song
39. The Sick Rose
40. The Fly
41. The Angel
42. The Tyger
43. My Pretty Rose Tree, Ah! Sun Flower, [and] The Lilly
44. The Garden of Love
45. The Little Vagabond
46. London
47. The Human Abstract
48. Infant Sorrow
49. A Poison Tree
50. A Little Boy Lost
51. A Little Girl Lost
52. To Tirzah
53. The School Boy
54. The Voice of the Ancient Bard

Songs of Innocence and of Experience

CANCELLED PLATES

a. A Nude figure borne upwards by five cherubs; no text. 6·5 × 5·5 cm.[1]

b. A Divine Image.

NOTE

The *Songs of Experience* represent in Blake's philosophy the second cycle of man's development. Following the period of innocence, the unalloyed joy at the discovery of beauty, truth and love, comes the period of experience, of mature disappointment and the realization of physical limitations and of man-made morality. For each joy Blake saw an equal and opposite sorrow. The whole is a reflection of Blake's disappointment upon a second look at the world. His messages of truth did not receive the acceptance and understanding which he in his naïve assurance had expected. There were realities in London all around him which belied the optimism of the *Songs of Innocence*; poverty, prejudice, deceit and despair were everywhere. The *Songs of Experience* are Blake's bitter picture of life as the innocent child must find it as he emerges from the happy, confident days of childhood.

The change in Blake's mood is reflected not only in the subjects and the symbolism of the poems and illustrations, but also in the technique of the copper-plates. If these are examined in uncoloured prints it will be seen that in the *Songs of Innocence* the larger surfaces of the etched plates have been generally lightened in effect by engraved lines, whereas in the *Songs of Experience* the heavy effect of these surfaces is unrelieved by subsequent engraving.

In Blake's prospectus of 1793 the *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* were advertised as separate works, containing twenty-five illuminated plates at five shillings each. No authentic copy, however, of the *Songs of Experience* in this form is known, the only separate examples of this work described being too imperfect to be conclusive evidence, having a pagination showing them to have once been part of a combined copy, or having been printed to complete an already issued copy of the *Songs of Innocence*. The *Songs of Experience* are therefore not here described separately.

The title-page of the *Songs of Experience* is dated 1794, and the earliest copy (A) of the combined issue belongs to that year. It consists of fifty plates, and therefore agrees as regards the total number of plates with the advertisement of 1793, though they are not distributed the same way, the *Songs of Innocence* consisting of twenty-eight plates, and the *Songs of Experience* of twenty-two. This is evidently due to the fact that in 1793 Blake was still counting the three plates of 'The Little Girl Lost' and 'The Little Girl Found' (34–36) among the *Songs of Innocence*, but when the two series were actually issued together in 1794 those plates were transferred to the *Songs of Experience*, where they remained in all copies issued after that date. When copy A was issued, four plates (1, 50–52), namely, the general title-page, 'A Little Boy Lost', 'A Little Girl Lost', and 'To Tirzah', had not yet been engraved. The later copies consist of fifty-four plates, though one of the four extra plates did not reach its final form at once. Three copies (B, C, and D), also issued about 1794, contain, instead of the plate 'To Tirzah' (52), a design without text (a), representing

[1] See Russell, *Engravings*, p. 71, where it is described as 'Subject resembling the Ecstasy of St Mary Magdalene', but the figure is undoubtedly that of a man.

a nude figure borne aloft by cherubs. This plate has the appearance of being one of Blake's so-called 'woodcuts on pewter'; it is not found in any other book. These three copies are also peculiar in that the plate 'A Dream' (26) is placed among the *Songs of Experience*. In copy E Blake first included all the fifty-four plates as thereafter issued.

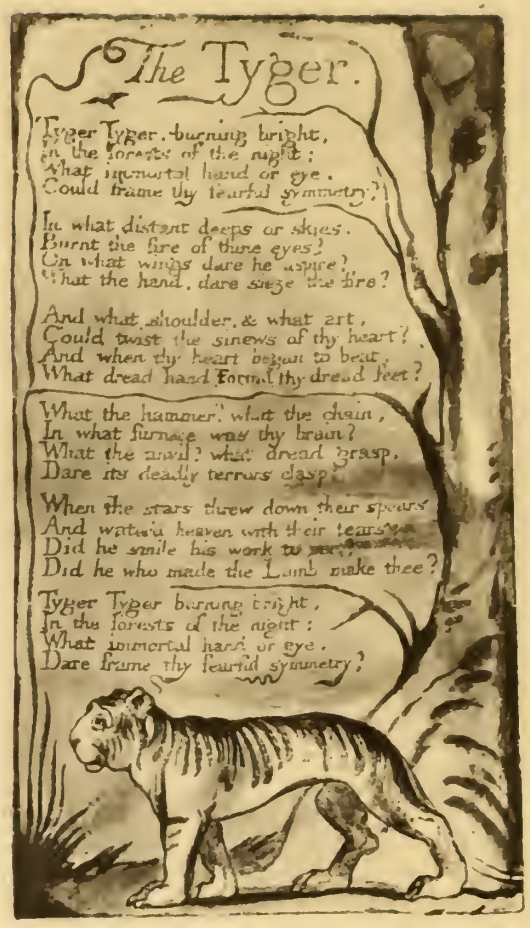
The next group (F, G, and H) seems to have consisted of separate printings of the *Songs of Experience*, all now imperfect, but the first bound up with a copy of a separate issue of the *Songs of Innocence* which it was no doubt issued to supplement. These copies are all colour-printed, and are the only ones so executed, which would seem to place them in the year 1795 when Blake was experimenting with this method which he later abandoned.

After Blake had completed fifty-four plates satisfactory to him, he distributed them in the earlier copies as follows: general title-page, one plate, *Songs of Innocence*, twenty-eight plates, and *Songs of Experience*, twenty-five plates. However, only four copies (E, I, J, and K) so distributed were issued before he began to experiment again. Copies L, M, and N have 'The School Boy' (53) transferred to the *Songs of Experience*, and copy O has 'The Voice of the Ancient Bard' (54) only so transferred. It was formerly believed that these copies were executed about 1810, but the initials with the date 1799 in copy L force a revision of that assumption. Consequently, it must now be assumed that Blake considered the idea of placing one or another of the two plates among the *Songs of Experience*, temporarily gave up the idea, and thereafter issued at least four copies (P, Q, R and S) from 1802 to 1808 with the earlier distribution.

It should be noted that copy K, which is incomplete and uncoloured, can only be tentatively placed in the period 1795–98; and that copies M and N, the former remargined and rebound so that the arrangement may not be original, and the latter an incomplete *Songs of Experience* only, are grouped with copy L solely on the basis of the inclusion of pl. 53 in the *Songs of Experience*. Copy O contains a later issue of the *Songs of Innocence* which was printed about 1817 to fill out the set, and contains duplicate impressions of the two transferred plates. Up to about 1800 all the copies showed the same lack of uniformity in arrangement found in the separate copies of the *Songs of Innocence*. From about 1802 until about 1808 Blake issued four copies (P, Q, R and S), all with the earlier distribution of plates, but with the *Songs of Innocence* arranged roughly in the order given above. Each of these has separate foliation for the two parts, and with the exception of copies A and O are the only ones so numbered, all the others which contain Blake's original numbers running consecutively through from 1 to 54. Only copy P of these four seems to have had both parts printed and coloured at the same time, and these may have been miscellaneous separate sets which Blake brought together after having failed to sell either separately; copy R certainly has a *Songs of Innocence* considerably earlier than the 1808 watermarked *Songs of Experience*. Most of the copies (K–S) issued in the ten years between 1798 and 1808 are of a rather miscellaneous composition, and the order here given is based upon the *Songs of Experience* only.

By about 1815 Blake distributed the plates evenly between the two parts with pls. 53 and 54 in the *Songs of Experience*, and the arrangement became set. With one exception he kept to it in all copies issued after this date. The exception (copy V) is peculiar in that Blake seems to have taken the trouble to write out a MS. index, but only to reject it after having

PLATE 2


The Tyger.
Tyger Tyger. burning bright,
In the forests of the night:
What immortal hand or eye.
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?
In what distant deeps or skies.
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand. dare seize the fire?
And what shoulder. & what art.
Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
And when thy heart began to beat.
What dread hand Form'd thy dread feet?
What the hammer? what the chain.
In what furnace was thy brain?
What the anvil? what dread grasp.
Dare its deadly terrors clasp?
When the stars threw down their spears
And watered heaven with their tears?
Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the Lamb make thee?
Tyger Tyger burning bright.
In the forests of the night:
What immortal hand or eye.
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

used it in this single copy, the paper of which is dated 1818. Dr Sampson used the arrangement found in this index as standard, but it does not seem to constitute so weighty an authority as that found in seven of the latest copies executed by Blake, all of which bear his own foliation.

Only four copies (B, C, D and E) are printed on both sides of the leaves. Copy F, with a separate *Songs of Innocence* so printed, contains the *Songs of Experience* printed on one side of the leaf only. All other copies have both parts printed on one side of the leaf only. The book is usually on paper measuring about 20 × 14 cm.; those copies which are smaller have probably been cut down. In a few copies (A, R, V, W and X) somewhat larger paper was used up to a size of 38 × 27 cm. The lettering used in the *Songs of Innocence* has already been referred to. In the *Songs of Experience* 'Blake substituted for the roman the more easily formed italic characters which he first adopted in the *Book of Thel* (1789) and used in all his subsequent works; only four songs, "The Tyger", "Ah! Sunflower", "London", and "A Poison Tree", with the introductory stanza to "A Little Girl Lost", being written in the former style of lettering' (Sampson, 1905, p. 69).

Having once etched and printed the plates of the *Songs* Blake almost never made any alteration in the text. One interesting change has, however, been detected in pl. 42 ('The Tyger') of copy P. Here he has altered the fourth line of the third stanza

'What dread hand? & what dread feet?'

to read

'What dread hand Formd thy dread feet?'

A similar change had been noticed in the text of the poem printed by Benjamin Heath Malkin in the introduction to *A Father's Memoirs of his Child*, 1806, though here 'Formd' is replaced by 'forged', but no emendation was known to have been authorized by Blake until one was discovered in this copy.

Blake printed most of the copies in varying shades of brown. Those produced before 1795 are all in light tones, quite similar to the earlier copies of *Songs of Innocence*. In the three with which he experimented with colour-printing, he also tried the effect produced by printing in several different colours on one page. This was apparently not repeated, although the same effect was created in a few later instances by painting over the lettering with varicoloured inks. From 1795 until after 1802 brown again was chiefly used, during this period, however, often much darker in tone, and in a few copies the printing was in grey or black. There was apparently no fixed colour used for the next group of copies; light and dark browns and grey-green appear. From 1815 on the ink does not vary, always being a bright red or orange-brown.

In the earliest copies of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* Blake's water-colour illuminating is almost as simple in character as that which he used in the earlier copies of the *Songs of Innocence*. Later the colouring became brighter, and after 1815 his method became more elaborate, and in most of the later copies he heightened the effect with the use of gold and brought out the pages with framing-lines or wash borders. One (Y) has in addition elaborate borders of pen-work tracery, of a type found in no other book.

The copper-plates were in existence after Blake's death, and a good many sets of prints

were made posthumously. These are all printed in red-brown, sepia or grey; some have recent colouring. Two of them (copies *c* and *n*) have the plate 'A Divine Image' (b), not found in any copy issued by Blake.[1] In 1863 ten of the original copper-plates, six of them engraved on both sides, were in existence. Electrotypes were made of these sixteen designs and were used by Messrs Macmillan in the first and second editions of Gilchrist's *Life*. These ten plates seem now to have disappeared, but two duplicate sets of the electrotypes have been made, one of which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Twenty sets of prints from these were made for Geoffrey Keynes in 1941.

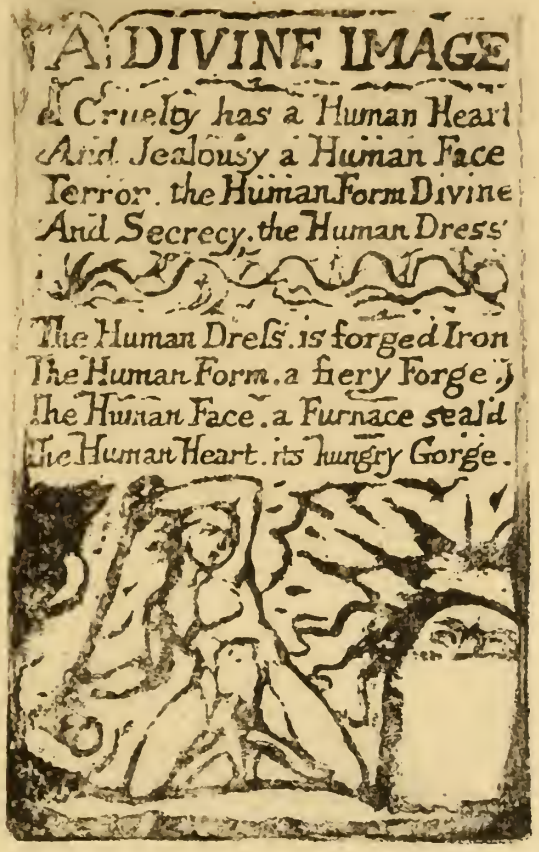
Sampson, writing in 1905, described twelve copies of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* and one copy of the *Songs of Experience*, and was led to make several wrong conclusions by inaccuracies in the facts at his disposal. These numbers are here increased to twenty-three copies of the former and four of the latter, and the data have, for the most part, been thoroughly revised. Also included are fifteen series of the plates, some incomplete, printed posthumously, one of which was described by Sampson.

Eighteen of the *Songs of Experience* are found in Blake's autograph in the Notebook (Rossetti MS.), and several of these appear to be fair copies, but there are no other manuscript sources of the text. In the same MS. are found sketches for the Frontispiece (p. 57), Title-page (p. 43), 'Introduction' (p. 57), 'The Angel' (p. 65), 'The Tyger' (p. 6), and 'London' (p. 54).

As already mentioned, the *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* were advertised by Blake in 1793 at five shillings each, containing altogether fifty plates. Isaac D'Israeli's copy (A) with fifty plates is of this period. Before the turn of the century copies seem to have been also in the hands of Thomas Butts (E), George Cumberland (F), H. W. Phillips (I), Charles Augustus Tulk (J) and Mrs Flaxman (O). In 1818 the whole fifty-four plates were offered at six guineas, and a second Butts copy (V) is of this date. T. G. Wainewright and Edward Calvert obtained copies (X and Y) about 1825, and there are records showing that Henry Crabb Robinson and Mrs Charles Aders each paid five guineas for copies (Z and AA) in 1826. In 1827 Blake offered the book for ten guineas, and after his death Mrs Blake sent a copy (W) to Bishop Jebb in return for a present of twenty guineas. These facts are established, and show that Blake did receive a steadily increasing price for his work. Gilchrist (i, 121) writes as follows: 'The illustrated *Songs of Innocence and Experience* was issued to Blake's public at the modest price of thirty shillings or two guineas....Later in Blake's life...five guineas were given him, and in some cases when intended as a delicate means of helping the artist larger sums. Flaxman recommended more than one friend to take copies, a Mr Thomas among them, who wishing to give the artist a present made the price ten guineas....In the last years of his life Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir Francis Chantrey, and others paid as much as twelve and twenty guineas.' No authority is given for these facts, and no reliance can be placed on some of them. Except for the owners mentioned above no copies bear evidence of having belonged to any of Blake's contemporaries, although the early history of many is not known; this negatively supports the possible truth of Gilchrist's statement.

This account of the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* should be read in conjunction with the separate account of the *Songs of Innocence* on pp. 9–11 of the present work.

[1] A third impression of the plate is in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes.


A DIVINE IMAGE
Cruelty has a Human Heart
And Jealousy a Human Face
Terror the Human Form Divine
And Secrecy the Human Dress
The Human Dress is forged Iron
The Human Form a fiery Forge
The Human Face a Furnace seald
The Human Heart its hungry Gorge

Songs of Innocence and of Experience

The copies described below may be tabulated as follows:

DATE	CHARACTERISTICS	COPIES
1794	50 plates on 50 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Innocence*. Pls. 1 and 50–52 not yet engraved. Separate foliation.	A (I TAYLOR 1794)
1794	54 plates on 30 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Innocence*, and pl. 26 among *Songs of Experience*. Pl. 52 not yet engraved, replaced by plate a without text. No pagination.	B, C (E & P, I TAYLOR and J WHATMAN) and D
1794–95	54 plates on 30 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Innocence*. Colouring simple. Continuous pagination.	E (J WHATMAN)
1795	Imperfect *Songs of Experience*, presumably 25 plates on 25 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Innocence*. Colour-printed. No foliation.	F (with early *Songs of Innocence*), G and H
1796–98	54 plates on 54 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Innocence*. Continuous foliation (in two).	I, J and K (imperfect and uncoloured *Songs of Experience* only)
1799–1801	54 plates on 54 leaves. Pl. 53 or pl. 54 among *Songs of Experience*. Continuous foliation (in two); separate (in one).	L, M, N (imperfect *Songs of Experience* only) and O (with later *Songs of Innocence*)
1802–08	54 plates on 54 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Innocence*. *Songs of Innocence* arranged approximately as above. Separate foliation.	P (BUTTANSHAW 1802), Q (BUTTANSHAW 1802 and J WHATMAN 1804), R (I TAYLOR 1794 for earlier *Songs of Innocence* and J WHATMAN 1808) and S (J WHATMAN 1808)
1815–26	54 plates on 54 leaves. Pls. 53 and 54 among *Songs of Experience*. Arranged as above. Rich and elaborate water-colours. Continuous foliation.	T (RUSE & TURNERS 1815), U (RUSE & TURNERS 1815), V (arranged according to MS. index, J WHATMAN 1818), W (1818 and J WHATMAN 1825), X (J WHATMAN 1825), Y (J WHATMAN 1825), Z (J WHATMAN 1825) and AA
Unknown	Description not obtained.	BB and CC
Posthumous 1831–2	—	*a–o* (J WHATMAN 1831–2)

COPIES

A 50 plates on 50 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR 1794, on one leaf. Printed in olive-brown. Painted with water-colours, the tinting very simple. The similarity of styles of colouring shows that both parts were executed at the same time in spite of the separate foliation. Foliated by Blake 1–26 and 1–20, the title-page and frontispiece of each part unnumbered. Arrangement: 2–4, 22–23, 6–7, 9–10, 13, 20–21, 11, 24, 27, 54, 15, 18, 12, 19, 53, 14, 8, 5, 16–17, 26, 25; 29, 28, 30, 31, 40, 32, 41, 37, 42, 48, 45, 38, 47, 34–36, 44, 49, 46, 39, 33, 43. Lacks 1, 50–52; with uncoloured facsimiles of 50–52 and 'A Divine Image' inserted. Size: 38 × 27 cm., uncut. The leaves, which show the original stitch-holes, inserted in slide mounts, bound in two vellum volumes.

The Beaconsfield copy, probably bought from Blake by Isaac D'Israeli. Sold with the Beaconsfield library at Sotheby's, 20 March 1882 (lot 56, Dowdeswell, £85). Acquired about 1885 by B. B. Macgeorge of Glasgow. Sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 111, Martin, £760), and bought by Mrs Macgeorge, who then presented it to the British Museum Print Room.

B [x] 54 plates on 30 leaves. No watermark. Printed in shades of yellow and brown. Simply and very beautifully painted with water-colour washes. Pencil pagination recently supplied, so that the present arrangement may not be identical with the original order, but probably approximates to it, as 53 and 54 are among the *Songs of Innocence*, and 26 in the *Songs of Experience*. Lacks 52, but contains a as in copies C and D. Size: 19·5 × 14 cm., untrimmed. The leaves, which show the original stitch-holes, have not been bound since Blake's covers were removed. Now mounted in stiff leaves and bound in morocco.

This copy is almost as fresh and clean as when it left Blake's hands. Originally in the possession of Judge Charles Warren, who obtained it directly from Blake or his wife. Then it passed into the hands of his daughter, Lady Stafford Carey, and later in turn to her daughter, Miss E. J. Carey. Given by her in 1932 to the British Museum Print Room.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C., 1876, nos. 273–4, 277–8; B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 75.

C [B] 54 plates on 30 leaves. Watermarks E & P, on two leaves, 1 TAY[LOR], on one leaf, and [J] WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in shades of brown and yellow-brown, except pl. 47 which is in green. Painted simply with light water-colours, with some colour-printing used occasionally in pls. 1 and 2 and the *Songs of Experience*; a number of figures outlined in india-ink; some colouring probably by Mrs Blake. No pagination. Arrangement: 2, 1, 3, 4, 25, 5, 16–17, 8, 11, 24, 19, 6–7, 27, 22–23, 53, 18, 12, 15, 9–10, 54, 20–21, 13, 14; 28–31, 48, 51, 38, 41, 39, 44, 45, 47, 26, 34–36, 50, 37, 40, 49, 46, 42, 43, 33, 32, a. Lacks 52, but contains a, which is found in no other copies except B and D. Pl. 26 is among the *Songs of Experience* as in copies B and D. Size: 18 × 12·4 cm. Bound in contemporary citron morocco, gilt, the sides covered with small stars in diamond-shaped compartments, with label on spine: SONGS | OF | INNOCENCE, g.e.

Nothing is known of the early history of this volume. It was sold at Sotheby's 16 March 1909 (lot 172, Dobell, £166), and was afterwards offered by Tregaskis in

one of his catalogues for 245 guineas. Acquired by W. E. Moss who added his label, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 2 March 1937 (lot 144, Rosenbach, £1400). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Manchester, 1914, no. 147; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 40.

D [c] 54 plates on 30 leaves. No watermark. Printed in shades of brown. Delicately painted with water-colours, the blues and yellows being especially bright. No pagination. Arrangement: 2, 1, 3–4, 15, 9–10, 54, 27, 22–23, 53, 6–7, 16–17, 20–21, 5, 25, 24, 19, 8, 11, 18, 12–14, 28–31, 40, 49, 46, 42, 39, 44, 26, 34–36, 48, 51, 47, 45, 50, 37, 41, 38, 33, 43, 32, a. Lacks pl. 52, but contains a as in copies B and C. Pl. 26 is among the *Songs of Experience*, as in copies B and C. Size: 17·5 × 12 cm. Bound in contemporary citron straight-grain morocco, with end-papers watermarked 1796.

On the front fly-leaf are the signatures, 'C. L. Shipley' and 'Fanny F. S. Milner'. Catherine Louisa Shipley was a friend of Benjamin Franklin, and Miss Milner was the sixth daughter of Sir William Mordaunt Milner, of Yorkshire. Nothing further is known of the early history of this copy. In March 1916 it was in the hands of Quaritch. Acquired by A. Edward Newton, and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 136, Rosenbach, $6100). Now in the possession of Arthur A. Houghton, of New York.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 41.

E [d] 54 plates on 30 leaves. Portions of watermark J WHATMAN, on two leaves. The majority of the plates printed in brown. Carefully painted with bright water-colours; some outlines and lettering heightened in coloured inks. Paginated by Blake 1–54. Arrangement: 1–5, 25, 11, 8, 15, 9–10, 54, 18, 12, 16–17, 6–7, 27, 22–23, 53, 24, 19, 13, 14, 20–21, 26; 28–31, 15, 34–36, 50, 37, 42, 46, 44, 39, 38, 41, 45, 47, 40, 49, 48, 51, 33, 43, 52. Lacks pl. 32, which is replaced by a duplicate of 15, printed in green. Size: 18·5 × 11·5 cm. Bound in green morocco, g.e., by F. Bedford.

Originally in the possession of Thomas Butts, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 50, Robert Arthington of Leeds, £12. 12*s*.), described in the sale catalogue as '3 vols. 8°'. Sold with Arthington's books at Sotheby's, 17 May 1866 (lot 17, Pickering, £13. 15*s*.), again described as '3 vols.', a copy of the Pickering edition of 1839 being included in the lot. Later it came into the possession of Frederick Locker-Lampson, being then said to be bound 'in the covers of an old washing book', and was incorporated in the Rowfant Library. Locker-Lampson's bookplate is inside the cover, and his autograph is in ink on the frontispiece (pl. 28), and on the first title. Two MS. parodies of the *Introduction* copied by him from Swinburne are laid in. Inserted at the end are an example of pl. 32 obtained by Locker-Lampson, and three pages in the hand of Alexander Gilchrist. Acquired in 1905 with the Rowfant Library by E. Dwight Church, and sold by him through Dodd, Mead and Co. to Beverly Chew, from whom it was obtained in 1912 by Henry E. Huntington. Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Sampson, 1905, copy F; wrongly described.)

F* 48 plates on 34 leaves. Watermark E & P, on one leaf of *Songs of Innocence*; no watermark in *Songs of Experience*. The *Songs of Innocence* printed in green; the *Songs of*

Experience in brown, green, blue and orange. The former painted with pale water-colour washes; the latter heavily colour-printed with some opaque pigment added. The *Songs of Innocence* paginated in pencil; the *Songs of Experience* paginated in ink. Arrangement: 2–5, 9, 10, 27, 6, 7, 12, 22, 23, 53, 15, 26, 13, 14, 8, 24, 34–36, 54, 18, 19, 16, 17, 25, 11, 20, 21; 28–32, 38, 33, 46, 41, 49, 42, 50, 51, 37, 47, 43, 40. Lacks 1, 39, 44, 45, 48 and 52. Size: 18·3 × 11·5 cm. Bound in old half calf, and lettered on the spine: BLAKE'S WORK.

George Cumberland's copy, with his signature 'G. Cumberland' on the verso of the frontispiece of *Songs of Experience*. Evidently this copy is one of the separate issues of the *Songs of Innocence*, resembling copies I and J of that work, to which an incomplete copy of the *Songs of Experience*, differently coloured, was afterwards added. The experiment in colour-printing used in the latter is paralleled by copies G and H. It came into the possession of Henry Burgess, and was sold by his executors at Sotheby's, 17 April 1929 (lot 583, Spencer, £1900). It passed through the hands of Scribners of New York in 1938, and was sold by them to Edison Dick, of Lake Forest, Illinois. Scribners again offered it for sale in 1947, and it was sold through Gannon in September of that year for $13,200 to Paul Mellon, Washington, D.C.

G* 10 plates on 10 leaves. No watermark. Printed in blue or green. Colour-printed, sometimes with water-colour washes added. No foliation. Consists of 30, 31, 32, 37, 38, 42, 43, 47, 50, 51. Size: 18 × 12 cm. Unbound.

Possibly leaves from a copy of *Songs of Experience* in Quaritch's *General Catalogue*, 1877 (no. 9426*, £25), described as bound in half calf, colour-printed, and arranged: 30, 31, 32, 38, 37, 42, 33, 50, 46, 40, 49, 41, 43, 47, 51. After the subtraction of some leaves it may have been the fragment of eight leaves, coloured and unbound (formerly copy W), sold with the Julian Marshall library at Sotheby's, 11 July 1904 (lot 36, Quaritch, £13), and subsequently broken up. The present leaves, uniform in paper, size and style of colouring, were acquired at various dates from various sources, and are now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

H [z] 17 plates on 17 leaves. Portions of watermark J WHATMAN, on two leaves. Printed in blue, green or yellow. Colour-printed, with some water-colour washes added, similar to G. Consists of 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 42, 38, 43, 49, 33, 41, 37, 50, 40, 46, 51, 47. No foliation. Size: 19·5 × 12·7 cm. Stitched in stained and ragged drab wrappers, probably original; the arrangement may be as made by Blake, as part of the stitching, through three stubs, is present, though one leaf (33) is loose.

The name 'R. Sykes' is written in ink on the wrapper. This is the copy of *Songs of Experience* described by Richard Thomson in Smith's *Nollekens and his Times*, 1828 (ii, 475–7) as 'small octavo; seventeen plates, including the title-page', (the composition of that copy was wrongly described in the *Bibliography*, 1921, copy Z). Sold with the Arthington Library at Sotheby's, 17 May 1866 (lot 18, Pickering, 21*s.*). Later in the possession of H. C. Jephcott, of Cottingham, and sold by him at Sotheby's, 20 December 1948 (lot 98, Lord Crawford, £340). Now in possession of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

I [F] 54 plates on 54 leaves. No watermark. Printed in dark brown. Simply and brightly painted in a charming manner, predominating tones blue, yellow, and pink. Foliated by Blake 1–54. Arrangement: 2, 1, 3–5, 11, 9–10, 22–23, 19, 6–7, 25, 8, 24, 15, 12, 18, 26, 27, 53, 54, 16–17, 20–21, 13, 14; 28–33, 48, 41, 39, 40, 50, 51, 43, 37, 45, 49, 44, 46, 47, 38, 42, 34–36, 52. Size: 18·5 × 13 cm. Bound in purple cloth with leather label, *ca.* 1830.

With the autographs of H. W. Phillips, the painter, to whom it is said to have been given by Blake, and of Gerald Massey, the poet. Sold at Sotheby's, 3 June 1902 (lot 140, Quaritch, £216). Still in the possession of Quaritch in 1905, and subsequently sold to George C. Thomas, of Philadelphia. Listed in a Rosenbach exhibition catalogue, December 1911, no. 74, and acquired from them by Harry Elkins Widener. Now in the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library of Harvard. (Sampson, 1905, copy H.)

J [I] 54 plates on 54 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. Lightly painted with bright water-colour washes, similarly to copy M. No foliation. Arrangement: 1–5, 22–23, 19, 15, 24, 18, 8–10, 25, 6–7, 16–17, 53, 20–21, 27, 26, 13, 14, 11, 12, 54; 29–31, 48, 32, 44, 40, 42, 50, 33, 43, 41, 38, 34–36, 47, 37, 52, 49, 51, 46, 39, 45. Pl. 28 from another copy loosely inserted. Size: 19·5 × 13 cm., provided with artificial plate-marks, by putting each print, damped, in press with blank plate. Bound in morocco, by Riviere, before 1880.

Charles Augustus Tulk's copy, probably obtained by him direct from Blake. In 1818 Tulk lent the book to Coleridge, who wrote a long criticism of its contents when he returned it; the letter is now in the possession of Lord Rothschild. In 1838 Tulk lent it to Garth Wilkinson, who followed the present order of the poems in his edition published by William Pickering in 1839. Bought in 1870 by James Bain, the bookseller, from a member of Tulk's family then resident in Australia. For a time in the possession of Dew-Smith, of Cambridge. Rebought by Bain about 1900, and soon after sold to Lord Rothschild. After his death in the possession of Lady Rothschild, who in 1933 gave it to her grandson, the present Lord Rothschild. Given by Lord Rothschild in 1949 to Professor Anthony Blunt.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 76; National Book League, 1947, no. 193.

K [G] 11 plates on 11 leaves. No watermark. Printed in dark brown. Uncoloured. Foliated by Blake in ink, his numbers being given in brackets as follows: 28 (30), 29 (31), 34–36 (47–49), 38 (35), 40 (41), 42 (37), 43 (52), 48 (36), 49 (51). Size: from 15·8 × 13·7 to 18·9 × 13·7 cm. Unbound, and matted, in portfolio.

Apparently part of an incomplete copy, lacking pl. 39 and with pls. 53 and 54 among the *Songs of Innocence*, from which the other plates were taken to fill out copy *e*. Possibly this was the copy sold at Sotheby's, 28 April 1862 (lot 195, Toovey, £4. 4*s*.). In the possession of James Toovey, and now, together with other plates from this book, loose in portfolio, in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

L* 54 plates on 54 leaves. No watermark. Printed in dark brown. Lightly painted with bright water-colour washes. Foliated by Blake 1–54. Arrangement: 2, 1, 3, 4, 6–7,

12, 9–10, 19, 22–23, 24, 5, 26, 16–17, 20–21, 11, 13, 14, 25, 8, 54, 18, 27; 28–31, 34–36, 42, 40, 33, 48, 32, 37, 52, 45, 47, 44, 50, 41, 39, 38, 49, 46, 51, 43, 53. Size: 17·5 × 12·5 cm. Bound in contemporary green straight-grain morocco, gilt, pink end-papers, g.e.

On the verso of the first frontispiece are the initials J S, dated 1799. On a fly-leaf is the partially erased name of Henry Little. Later in the possession of Alfred G. Gray, and sold for him at Sotheby's, 15 December 1926 (lot 613, Spencer, £1350). Acquired by Cortlandt F. Bishop, and sold with his library at American Art Association, 5 April 1938 (lot 279, Sessler, $5400). Then in the collection of Moncure Biddle, and sold through Gannon to Paul Mellon, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 49.

M [L.] 54 plates on 54 leaves. No watermark. Printed in dark brown and black. Painted crudely with flat water-colour washes, chiefly yellow and blue, possibly by Mrs Blake. Foliated 1–54 in ink. Arrangement: 1, 3, 2, 4, 8, 6–7, 15, 20–21, 19, 18, 13, 14, 27, 9–10, 26, 11, 54, 5, 22–23, 24, 25, 16–17, 12; 28–32, 49, 42, 41, 39, 52, 44, 50, 51, 37, 47, 34–36, 38, 48, 45, 40, 46, 53, 43, 33. Size: 19·2 × 12·3 cm. Bound in red levant morocco, g.e., by Riviere.

Probably Sir William Tite's copy, sold at Sotheby's, 19 May 1874 (lot 292, Pearson, £61). Later in Thomas Gaisford's collection, with his book-plate. Sold with Gaisford's library at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 187, Robson, £87). Then acquired by Alexander Mackay, and after his widow's death sold at Christie's, 26 April 1921 (lot 4, 'Shoebridge', £470). Purchased through Gabriel Wells by Chauncey B. Tinker, and given by him to Yale University Library, New Haven. In contradiction to the present editors, the late Laurence Binyon wrote to Professor Tinker on 26 July 1939 that he saw 'no reason to doubt that the colouring is by Blake's own hand'.

N [M] 25 plates on 25 leaves. No watermark. Printed in black. Richly painted with water-colours and gold. *Songs of Experience* only, foliated by Blake 30–54. Arrangement: 29–32, 37, 49, 48, 42, 40, 39, 47, 51, 34–36, 44, 41, 43, 50, 52, 46, 45, 33, 38, 53. Lacks pls. 28 and 34. Size: 19·7 × 13·6 cm. Bound in modern maroon morocco, g.e.

In Quaritch's *General Catalogue*, 1877 (no. 9741, £48). Acquired by Howell Wills, of Florence, and sold with books from his library at Sotheby's, 11 July 1894 (lot 92, Quaritch, £40). Later in the possession of Robert Hoe, and sold with the first part of his library at Anderson's, 25 April 1911 (lot 392, G. D. Smith, $700). Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Sampson, 1905, copy V, arrangement given inaccurately.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 9.

O [V] 56 plates on 56 leaves. No watermark. *Songs of Innocence* printed in dark red-brown; *Songs of Experience* in dark brown. The former uncoloured; the latter brightly painted with clear water-colour washes, yellow and blue-grey predominating. Foliated by Blake 1–29 and 1–27 respectively. Arrangement: 1–5, 12, 19, 6–7, 11, 15–17, 25, 27,

24, 54, 22–23, 18, 53, 8, 26, 13–14, 9–10, 20–21; 1, 28–32, 38, 34–36, 42, 48, 37, 44, 39, 46, 43, 49–50, 40, 47, 45, 51, 41, 33, 54, 52. Size, *Songs of Innocence*: 18 × 13 to 14 cm.; *Songs of Experience*: 19·5 to 20·5 × 13·5 to 14 cm. The *Songs of Experience* formerly sewn in blue-grey wrappers, one of which remains; both now unbound and matted, in two half blue morocco boxes.

Mrs Anna Flaxman's copy, with the signature 'Mrs Flaxman April 1817', on the first title-page of the *Songs of Innocence*, and 'A. Flaxman' on the first title-page of the *Songs of Experience*. Next in the possession of Mrs Flaxman's sister, Miss Denman, to whom Ruskin wrote a letter about it. (The letter still accompanies the book.) Sold at the Denman sale, Christie's, 26 February 1883. Acquired shortly thereafter by E. W. Hooper, of Boston, and bequeathed by him to his daughter, Mrs Roger S. Warner, who in 1941 gave it in memory of her father to the Harvard College Library.

The irregular constitution of this copy, with only one series coloured, is perhaps to be explained by the fact that Mrs Flaxman already possessed an early coloured copy of the *Songs of Innocence* (copy C). The different forms of signature in the two series suggest that she afterwards obtained the coloured *Songs of Experience*, and in 1817 completed it with the uncoloured *Songs of Innocence*. That Blake did not supply them at the same time is shown by the presence of the general title-page and pl. 54 in each series, so that the total number of plates is fifty-six, two more than usual. The presence of pl. 54, without pl. 53, in the *Songs of Experience* is unusual, this arrangement not being found in any other copy, and suggests a date of about 1800, when Blake was apparently experimenting with the order of those two plates.

Exhib.: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1890, nos. 1b and 5; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 47 (*Songs of Experience* only).

P* 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark BUTTANSHAW 1802. Printed in olive-brown. Elaborately painted with light water-colour washes, some outlines strengthened in ink. Foliated by Blake 1–28 and 1–25. Arrangement: 2, 1, 3, 4–7, 25, 9–10, 27, 22–23, 15, 53, 54, 12, 8, 19, 18, 20–21, 26, 16–17, 11, 24, 13, 14; 28–31, 48, 42, 40, 32, 34–36, 49, 39, 33, 47, 38, 51, 50, 52, 43, 46, 45, 37, 41, 44. On pl. 42, in the fourth line of the third stanza of 'The Tyger', Blake has erased the first question mark and the two following words, and has added two words in ink, so that

'What dread hand? & what dread feet?'

now reads,

'What dread hand Formd thy dread feet?'

Size: 13·8 × 9·6 cm. Bound in two volumes in old red straight grain morocco, with gilt fillets round the sides, g.e., marbled end papers; backs lettered: BLAKE'S | SONGS | VOL. | I (II).

Formerly in the library of P. A. Hanrott, sold at Evans's, 20 July 1833 (lot 893, Thorp, £2. 1*s.*). The binding of these volumes is identical with that of *The Gates of Paradise* also sold at the Hanrott sale. Later in the possession of the family of Ch. E. Willis, of Springfield, Esher, for whom it was sold at Sotheby's, 30 July 1931 (lot 624,

Quaritch, £1600). Now in the possession of Mrs William Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 48.

Q [E] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermarks [J WH]ATMAN [18]04 in *Songs of Innocence*, and BUTTANSHAW 1802 in *Songs of Experience*. The former printed in orange-brown, the latter in dark brown. The *Songs of Innocence* uncoloured, except that details on most plates have been delicately outlined in sepia, and a light brown wash has been added on a few; the *Songs of Experience* with water-colour washes, chiefly brown and sepia, and in a few cases blue. Foliated by Blake 1–28 and 1–26. Arrangement: 2–4, 6–7, 5, 11, 22–23, 12, 54, 53, 25, 15, 26, 8–10, 16–17, 19, 24, 27, 18, 13, 14, 20–21; 28, 1, 29–31, 48, 42, 37, 34–36, 38, 32, 40, 50, 47, 52, 39, 44, 46, 51, 41, 49, 45, 33, 43. Size: 18 × 12·5 cm. Bound in two volumes in contemporary half calf, with watermark 1801 on one fly-leaf.

Formerly in the possession of Principal Chase, of St Mary Hall, Oxford, and given by him about 1863 to Alexander Macmillan, whose autograph is on the fly-leaf of each volume. They were inherited by his daughter, Mrs Lewis Dyer. The set came into the possession of Weyhe of New York, who gave it to his daughter, Mrs Seth Dennis, of Westport, Connecticut.

R [K] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermarks I TAYLOR 1794, and, on one leaf, J WHATMAN 1808. Printed in various shades of grey-green. Brightly painted with water-colours; three or more framing lines in sepia around each plate. General title-page unnumbered, the other plates foliated by Blake 1–28 and 1–25. Arrangement: 1–21, 53, 22–25, 54, 26, 27; 28–49, 52, 51, 50. Size: 30 × 21·5 cm. Bound in white vellum, one fly-leaf with watermark dated 1824.

The earlier plates of the *Songs of Innocence* were certainly coloured by Blake, and possibly most of them; but the *Songs of Experience* are of inferior quality and were possibly by Mrs Blake. Bought from Blake on 27 August 1819 by John Linnell; Blake's receipt of this date for £1. 19*s*. 6*d*. paid for this book is in the Yale University Library. Given by Linnell to his son William on 28 April 1863. From William Linnell it passed to his daughter, the late Mrs T. H. Riches, by whom it was bequeathed in 1950 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. (Sampson, 1905, copy L.)

S [J] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1808. *Songs of Innocence* printed in grey; *Songs of Experience* in dark brown. Very lightly tinted with water-colours. The general title-page unnumbered, the other plates foliated by Blake in two series, 1–25 and 1–28, with the *Songs of Experience* misbound after pl. 1 before the *Songs of Innocence*. Arrangement: 1, 28–32, 38, 42, 37, 49, 45, 33, 43, 47, 50, 41, 48, 34–36, 46, 44, 39, 40, 51, 52; 2–21, 53, 22–25, 54, 26, 27. Size: 19 × 12·5 cm. Bound in old calf, *ca*. 1830, a sheet of brown paper, possibly part of the original wrappers, inserted between the two series.

Probably the copy sold at Sotheby's, 7 August 1890 (lot 3171, Maggs, £48). In 1905 in the possession of Mrs John R. Wade, of New York. Later in the collection

of Beverly Chew, and sold with his books, Anderson's, 8 December 1924 (lot 29, Rosenbach, $5500). Now in the collection of John J. Emery, of Cincinnati, Ohio. (Sampson, 1905, copy K.)

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 42.

T [N] 38 plates on 38 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS [18]15. Printed in red-brown. Painted with water-colours; each plate within two framing lines. Originally foliated by Blake 1–54. Arranged as above, but lacking pls. 6, 7, 19, 24, 28, 32, 33, 38, 40–43, 47, 49–51. The copy completed by the addition of pls. 6, 7, 19, 24 on two leaves, printed in sepia, painted with very simple water-colours, and unnumbered; and of pls. 28, 32, 33, 38, 40–43, 47, 49–51 on twelve leaves, somewhat unsuccessfully colour-printed and unnumbered. Size: 18·5 × 12 cm. Bound in morocco.

Acquired in 1856 by the British Museum Print Room. (Sampson, 1905, copy S.)

U [O] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815. Printed in red-brown. Elaborately and brilliantly painted with water-colours and opaque pigments, heightened with silver and gold; each plate within a single framing line. Foliated by Blake 1–54. Arranged as above. Size: 22 × 14 cm. Bound in green morocco, gilt, by C. Lewis.

Formerly in the possession of Thomas Edwards, and sold with his library in May 1828 (£2. 13*s*.). On the fly-leaf is the pencil note 'Edwards May 1828'. Later in William Beckford's collection, and sold at the Hamilton Palace sale, Sotheby's, 4 July 1882 (lot 951, Quaritch, £146). Offered in Quaritch's *General Catalogue*, 1883 (no. 10250, £170). Used by Quaritch for his facsimile, published in 1893. Acquired by William A. White, whose signature dated 23 October 1895 is on a fly-leaf. Bequeathed by him to his daughter, Mrs Hugh D. Marshall. (Sampson, 1905, copy N.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 7; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 43.

V [U] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1818, on thirteen leaves. Printed in orange-brown. Delicately painted with bright water-colours, many of the designs outlined in ink; with wide wash borders in various pale tones. Foliated by Blake 1–54 in black ink. Arrangement, in accordance with the MS. index:[1] 1–4, 6–8, 5, 25, 9–10, 15, 22–23, 16–17, 24, 19, 11, 12, 18, 20–21, 26, 27, 13–14; 28–31, 38, 40, 42, 34–36, 32, 45, 33, 49, 41, 39, 52, 54, 43, 44, 50, 48, 53, 46, 51, 37, 47. Size: 33·2 by 26·8 cm. Bound in half russia, *ca.* 1860, with marbled paper sides and end-papers, lettered on the spine BLAKE'S SONGS; enclosed in calf case.

Originally in the possession of Thomas Butts. Then acquired by Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and from him passed to his son, the Earl of Crewe. Sold

[1] This index is written on a double-leaf of quarto size, and was once bound up with other miscellaneous Blake items in a volume containing Cunningham's *Life of Blake* (for history, see *America*, proofs). William Muir published a lithographic facsimile of the MS. index at the end of his edition of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. The volume, including the MS. index, was acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., who broke it up and the index was sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 18, Rosenbach, $550). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

by him at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 1, Quaritch, £300). Next acquired by Sir Algernon Methuen, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 19 February 1936 (lot 499, Rosenbach, £1050). Now in the possession of Mrs Landon K. Thorne, of New York. (Sampson, 1905, copy M.)

Exhib.: B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 77; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 46.

W [Q] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1825, and one leaf 1818. Printed in red-brown. Elaborately painted with water-colours and gold; a simple water-colour border has been added to each plate, possibly by Mrs Blake. Foliated by Blake 1–54. Arranged as above. Size: 28·5 × 22 cm. Bound in morocco, g.e., by F. Bedford.

According to Gilchrist, Mrs Blake described this copy 'as, in her estimation, especially precious from having been Blake's own'. Laid in loose is an early MS. copy of a nonsense rhyme as follows:

MR BLAKE'S NURSERY RHYME

The sow came in with the saddle,
The little pig rocked the cradle,
The dish jumped o' top of the table
To see the brass pot swallow the ladle.
The old pot behind the door
Called the kettle a blackamoor.
'Odd bobbs' said the gridiron, 'can't you agree?
'I'm the head constable, bring them to me.'

There seems to be no reason for doubting that this rhyme was at some time recited by Blake for the amusement of children of his acquaintance, possibly the young Linnells. It was stated by Gilchrist, and confirmed by Miss L. M. Forster, a former owner of this copy, that it was sent by Mrs Blake to Dr John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, in return for a present of twenty guineas sent through Haviland Burke. This is denied by A. T. Story (see his *Life of Linnell*, i, 243), who states that the book was bought by the Bishop together with the large engravings of *Job* and *Ezekiel*, and two drawings, as an ordinary business transaction, the money being sent after the works had been received by the Bishop. Given by Bishop Jebb to the Misses Thornton, daughters of Henry Thornton, M.P. The youngest, Laura, married the Rev. C. Forster, and so the book came into his possession. At his death it was left to his daughter, Miss L. M. Forster, who in 1904 gave it to her nephew, E. M. Forster. (Sampson, 1905, copy T.)

Exhib.: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1951, no. 409.

X [P] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1825, on thirteen leaves. Printed in varying shades of orange-brown, with single ink framing lines of the same colour. Elaborately and very beautifully painted with rich water-colours and some gold, many of the designs outlined in ink. Foliated in red by Blake 1–54. Arranged as above. Size: 26·5 × 20 cm. Originally bound in green calico; later mounted on larger sheets and bound in half morocco; recently rebound in red levant morocco, gilt, by Riviere.

Bought from Blake by T. G. Wainewright about 1825. Later in the library of James Weale, whose pencil note, dated May 1835, reads in part, 'This is the most elaborately finished copy of the Songs of Innocence & Songs of Experience I have ever seen—It was executed by the highly gifted artist expressly for his friend, M[r] Wainwright; to whom, I am told, he was at the time under considerable pecuniary obligations'. Obtained by John Linnell, sen., 13 December 1842, from a Mr White.[1] Linnell later gave it to his son, as appears from the inscription inside the cover, 'Given to John Linnell, Jun[r]. by John Linnell, Sen[r]—April 28, 1863.' It remained in the Linnell collection until this was sold at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 201, Dighton, £735). Resold anonymously at Sotheby's, 9 June 1921 (lot 3, Sabin, £510). Then acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 17, Sessler, $9000). Purchased by Mrs Philip Collins, and left by her in 1947 to her daughter-in-law, Mrs Alan Collins, of Rydal, Pennsylvania. (Sampson, 1905, copy O.)

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 44.

Y [T] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1825, on twelve leaves. Printed in bright red-brown. Designs mostly outlined in ink; elaborately and brilliantly coloured with bright water-colours and gold; the text occasionally heightened with red ink, and the headings overpainted with gold. In addition, each plate has a simple pen-work border of ornamental tracery about 0·5 cm. wide. Foliated by Blake in red 1–54. Arranged as above. Size: 15·2 × 14 cm. Unbound, with original stitch holes, and matted, in two cloth cases.

Originally in the possession of Edward Calvert. Acquired some time during the nineteenth century by F. S. Ellis, and sold with his library at Sotheby's, 4 November 1901 (lot 5, Jackson, £700). Then for several years in the collection of Marsden J. Perry, of Providence, R.I., who sold it about 1906 to W. A. White. Purchased from him in 1917 through Dodd by the Metropolitan Museum of New York. (Sampson, 1905, copy R.)

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 8.

Z [s] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 182[5], on seventeen leaves. Printed in varying shades of orange-red. Richly painted with water-colours and gold; each plate within a single framing line; the text of pls. 41 and 49 illuminated in gold, that of pl. 46 in black, and pl. 32 in red, and others touched here and there with gold and black. Foliated by Blake in red 1–54. Arranged as above. Size: 21·6 × 13 cm. Bound in contemporary purple straight-grain morocco, elaborately gilt sides and back, fly-leaves with water-mark dated 1826.

Henry Crabb Robinson's copy, with his book-plate. It is referred to in his *Diary* under the date 18 February 1826, as follows: 'He [Blake] told me my copy of his songs would be 5 guineas, and was pleased by my manner of receiving the information.' On a fly-leaf is a MS. note: 'This copy I received from Blake himself—And coloured by his own hand which I present with great pleasure to Edwin W. Field—H. C. Robinson.

[1] Perhaps Adam White, a friend of Linnell, or E. F. White, a dealer who bought his paintings.

March 11th 1863. 30 Russell Square London.' Other notes are as follows: 'Given to F W Burton by Mrs Edwin Field in memory of her husband. Oct. 6, 1871'; and 'Directed by my uncle, Sir Frederic Burton (when dying) to be given to Chas. Fairfax Murray Esq. 20. 6. 1900. H. B. Burton.' Sold with part of the Fairfax Murray library at Sotheby's, 7 July 1919 (lot 8, Sabin, £600). Afterwards in the possession of Judge Willis E. Vickery, of Cleveland who added his book label, and sold with his collection at American Art-Anderson's, 1 March 1933 (lot 16, Rosenbach, $6000). Then acquired by Frank B. Bemis, with his book-plate, and sold through Rosenbach to the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 45.

AA [R] 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark not visible. Printed in orange-red. Elaborately and splendidly painted with water-colours; each plate within orange-red framing lines. Foliated by Blake 1–54. Arranged as above. Size of original leaves: 18·1 to 13·0 cm. × 15·5 to 10·4 cm., a few leaves being 18·7 cm. high and quite narrow; now mounted on larger leaves, and bound in red cloth.

Bought from Blake, through John Linnell, by Mrs Eliza Aders, the daughter of Raphael Smith, the engraver, and wife of Charles Aders, a friend of Lamb, who was introduced to Blake by Linnell. The receipt for five guineas for this copy, dated 29 July, 1826, is among the Blake-Linnell papers in Yale University Library. Afterwards bought by Linnell from Mr or Mrs Aders, and subsequently given to his son, as appears from an inscription on the fly-leaf: 'Given to James Thomas Linnell, by John Linnell, Senr., April 28, 1863.' Sold with the Linnell collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 215, Carfax, £735). Then bought by T. H. Riches, and given by him to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 78.

[*Unidentified copies*]

BB* 55 plates. A copy sold at Sotheby's, 13 January 1830 as 'Blake's Phantasies, Songs of Innocence and Experience on 55 plates, brown calf, elegant, very rare' (lot 41, Glynn, £1). This cannot be identified with any of the above.

CC [Y] A series of uncoloured prints, contained in two frames, was lent to the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition in 1876 (items 275 and 276). Possibly to be identified with the Toovey copy (now K and *e*).

[*Posthumous copies*]

a 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831 or 1832. Pls. 1–40 and 42 printed in grey on thick paper; pls. 41, 43 and 44 in dark grey on thinner paper; pls. 45–54 in light brown on thinner paper. Uncoloured. Lacks pl. 15, but includes 'A Divine Image' (pl. b). On pl. 28 can be seen traces of the plate-makers's stamp. Size: from 28 × 20 cm. to 24·5 × 19 cm. Bound in morocco.

Acquired 7 January 1864 by the British Museum Reading Room. (Sampson, 1905, copy X.)

b 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. Consists of pls. 1–54. The plate-maker's stamp can be seen on several plates. Size: 18·2 × 14·5 cm. Bound in green seal-grain morocco, gilt, *ca.* 1835, with the monogram *H.B.* in the centre of the cover.

The monogram on the cover is probably that of Hannah Boddington, sister of the Comtesse de Montebello, whose book-plate is inside the cover. Offered for sale by Maggs in 1910 (cat. 255, no. 513, £15. 15*s.*). Later acquired by W. E. Moss, and sold with his collection, Sotheby's, 2 March 1937 (lot 145, Quaritch, £50). Then in the collection of Philip Hofer, and given by him in 1941 to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 51.

c 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. Lacks pl. 52, but includes 'A Divine Image' (pl. b). Size: 18 × 15 cm. Bound in red morocco, g.e.

Formerly in the library of Samuel Boddington, and contains his book-plate. Afterwards the property of the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, but not sold with his library in 1918. Not traced.

d 42 plates on 42 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in sepia. Uncoloured. Consists of pls. 1–14, 16–29, 33–36, 38–43, 46, 49, 52, 53. Size: 18 × 11 cm. Bound in russia, together with Pickering's edition of the *Songs*, 1839.

On the title-page is the autograph of 'Wm Odell Elwell 1840'. Sold at Sotheby's, 16 March 1909 (lot 145, Tregaskis, £6. 10*s.*), and was offered by Tregaskis in one of his catalogues shortly afterwards (36 guineas). This may be the same copy (formerly *e*), of an identical nature, offered for sale by Maggs in 1914 (cat. 325, 12 guineas). Acquired by Col. W. E. Moss, and sold with his library at Sotheby's, 2 March 1937 (lot 146, Maggs, £32). Traded to America and now in the Yale University Library.

e 53 plates on 53 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN [1831],[1] on thirteen leaves. Printed in
[11] various shades of brown, ranging from dark brown to orange brown. The plate-maker's stamp can be seen on pl. 29. Painted posthumously in bright water-colours and gold. Thirteen leaves with Blake's foliation in ink, his numbers being given in brackets: 30–32 (32–34), 33 (38), 37 (30), 41 (39), 44 (46), 45 (43), 46 (40), 47 (42), 50 (44), 51 (45), 52 (50). Lacks pl. 53. Size: 19·2 × 13·3 cm. Formerly bound in yellow morocco, now unbound, matted, in portfolio.

Made up from two incomplete uncoloured copies, one consisting of thirteen leaves, all printed in dark brown and without any watermark and numbered by Blake, formerly part of copy K, and the other posthumous impressions of the remaining plates. All the plates were similarly coloured afterwards. Formerly in the possession of James Toovey, the London bookseller, and bought from his son, Charles J. Toovey, in 1899, by J. Pierpont Morgan. Now, together with other plates from this book, loose in portfolio, in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

[1] The watermark is not fully visible on any single plate, but the remains would seem to indicate that the date is 1831 as in other posthumous copies.

f 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in red-brown. The first seven plates touched with water-colours, possibly by Mrs Blake; the rest uncoloured. Foliated in pencil. Consists of pls. 1–54. Size: 18·5 × 16·5 cm. Bound in black straight-grain morocco, with inlaid borders in red, g.e., by Leighton, 1869.

Inside the cover is the book-plate of Frederick Collins Wilson. A note on the fly-leaf states that a former owner had dated the book 1836. Sold at Sotheby's, 18 December 1919 (lot 447, Sabin, £39). Not traced.

g^1 23 plates on 23 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in grey or sepia. Uncoloured. *Songs of Innocence* only. Size: probably about 24·5 × 19·5 cm., uncut. Mounted on linen guards, and bound in maroon morocco, by Riviere.

This and the next two copies formed together a pile of loose leaves which were formerly in the collection of H. Buxton Forman. The present volume with his book-plate was sold with his library at Anderson's, 15 March 1920 (lot 51, Rosenbach, $60). Acquired by A. Edward Newton, and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 17 April 1941 (lot 159, Sessler, $70). Sold by Sessler to Knoedler. Not traced.

g^2 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831, on four leaves. Printed in grey except for pl. 44 which is in orange-brown. Uncoloured. *Songs of Experience* only, pls. 28, 29, 31, 38, 42, 34–36, 33, 49, 41, 39, 52, 54, 43, 44, 53, 46. Size: 24·5 × 19·4 cm., uncut. Mounted on linen guards, and bound in maroon morocco, by Riviere.

See above. Sold with the Buxton Forman library at Anderson's, 15 March 1920 (lot 52, Rosenbach, $65). Acquired by R. B. Adam, and resold with his collection at Anderson's, 15 February 1926 (lot 36, Rosenbach, $50). With Forman and Adam book-plates. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

h 57 plates on 57 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1832. Printed in black or sepia. Three plates coloured with water-colours and gold. The general title-page and some other plates in duplicate. Size given as 4°. The leaves mounted on linen guards, and bound in maroon morocco, by Riviere.

Formerly in the collection of H. Buxton Forman, together with copies g^1 and g^2, and sold with his library at Anderson's, 15 March 1920 (lot 53, Rosenbach, $90). Not traced.

*i** 44 plates on 44 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in grey, some plates very pale. Uncoloured. Size: 24·5 × 20 cm. Loose, in morocco case.

Sold at Sotheby's, 26 April 1862 (lot 195, £4. 6*s*.). Acquired by Henry Cunliffe, and bequeathed by him to his great-nephew, the present Lord Cunliffe.

*j** 54 plates on 54 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831, on 13 leaves. Printed in red-brown. Painted with water-colour washes. Foliated in red 1–27 and 1–27. Consists of pls. 1–54. Size: 12·5 × 8·2 to 8·5 cm., inlaid to large 8vo, and interleaved. Bound in two volumes, contemporary green straight-grain morocco, gilt, g.e., the lettering on the spine more recent than the binding.

The early history of this volume is not known. Obtained by Sessler from Sabin, and sold to A. Edward Newton. Given by him some time before 1938, with a letter from Blake to William Hayley of 11 December 1805 tipped in the front, to his daughter, Miss Caroline Newton of Daylesford, Pa. There is a possibility that this is copy *f* sophisticated.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 50.

*k** 5 plates on 5 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. Consists of pls. 30, 43, 45, 48, 52. Size: 20 × 16·5 cm. Unbound, matted.

Formerly in the possession of Sydney Morse, and sold with his collection at Christie's, 19 March 1937 (in lot 45, Keynes, 25 guineas). Now in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes.

*l** 10 plates on 10 leaves. No watermark. Printed in grey. Consists of pls. 29, 33, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 46, 49, 52. Size: 27 × 19 cm. Unbound, matted.

Bought from Francis Edwards in January 1925, by Geoffrey Keynes.

*m** 6 plates on 6 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831. Printed in grey on a tinted ground on very thick paper. Consists of pls. 3, 10, 11, 19, 22, 54. Size: 24·5 × 20 cm. Unbound, matted.

Formerly in the possession of Sydney Morse, and sold with his collection at Christie's, 19 March 1937 (in lot 45, Keynes, 25 guineas). Now in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes.

*n** 8 plates on 8 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 183[1], on pl. 13. Seven plates printed in grey; pl. 13 in red-brown. Uncoloured. Consists of pls. 2, 13, 30, 31, 37, 44, 50 and b. Size: from 18·3 × 13·2 to 27·9 × 18·8 cm. Unbound, and matted, in portfolio.

Formerly in the collection of Henry White, for history, see *Thel*, copy *a* (proofs). Now, together with the plates from the Toovey copies of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, loose in portfolio, in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

*o** 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark [J WHATMAN] 1832. Printed in black and sepia. Uncoloured. Loose, in board covers.

Bought from B. M. Pickering in 1869 by Charles Eliot Norton. Later acquired by Paul Hyde Bonner, and offered for sale in Dutton's catalogue of his library, 1931 (no. 34, $350). Not traced.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: 16 plates in Gilchrist's *Life*, 1863 and 1880 (electrotypes from the original plates); in *Works by William Blake*, 1876; William Muir, 1885, *Songs of Experience*, coloured (copy U); Quaritch, 1893, plain and coloured (copy U); Henry Young & Sons Ltd., 1923; Ernest Benn Ltd., 1927; William Muir, 1927; sixteen designs printed from the same electrotypes as were used in Gilchrist for Ruthven Todd and Geoffrey Keynes, 1941; eight of the same used in Keynes's *Blake Studies*, 1949, and the remaining eight used in Keynes's *Blake's Engravings*, 1951.

THE | FIRST BOOK | of | URIZEN | LAMBETH. Printed by Will Blake 1794.

Colophon: The End of the | first book of Urizen.

DESCRIPTION

Title, 1 pl., *Preludium*, 1 pl., *The First Book of Urizen*, chs. i–ix, 16 pls., full-page illustrations, 10 pls. = 28 plates, about 16 × 11 cm., relief etching, painted with water-colours or printed in opaque pigments. The text is etched in double columns.

CONTENTS

1. Title-page. *The First Book*, etc. Urizen, with flowing hair and beard and eyes closed, crouches in front of the tables of the Law under an arching leafless tree; in each hand he holds a pen with which he is writing in a book placed on either side of him, while his feet rest on another open before him.

2. *Preludium to the First Book of Urizen.* Begins: *Of the primeval Priests assum'd power.* Enitharmon floats in space holding the infant Orc by the hand as flames rise up around the text below.

3. *Chap. I*, 1–6, and *Chap. II*, 1–3. Begins: *Lo, a shadow of horror is risen.* Above, Los (or the youthful Urizen) strides to the left amidst flames, his arms outstretched and his face turned away. (In some copies the last line is scored through, so that it will not remain hanging as a result of the removal of pl. 4.)

4. *Urizen:* C II., [3]-8, and *Chap. III*, 1–2. Begins: *Muster around the bleak desarts.* Below, a nude man sits on the ground grasping his head between his hands as a dark rain streams over him. (Only known in two proofs and in copies A, B and C; the last line, *All the seven deadly sins of the Soul*, erased from the plate, except in copies B and C. Cf. the design on pl. 8 of *There is No Natural Religion*, series b.)

5. [*Chap. III*], [2]-8. Begins: *In living creations appear'd.* Above, Urizen holds open before him a large book. (The first two lines lined through in copy A, not to be left hanging by the omission of the last line of pl. 4.)

6. 1 *Urizen C: III*, [8]–11. Begins: *As the stars are apart from the earth.* Below, three Eternals with snakes coiled round them fall head downwards through flames in which monster faces appear. There were originally two more lines to Chap. III, verse 10, but no copy has more than two left. (Cf. *Job*, pl. 16.)

7. [*Chap. III*], 12–14. Begins: *Los howled in a dismal stupor.* Below, Los, a huge figure kneeling among flames and hugging his face in his arms, howls with wide-open mouth, staring eyes and hair on end.

8. *Chap. IV*, 1–6. Begins: *Los smitten with astonishment.* Below, Urizen's embryo as a skeleton squats in darkness with its head between its knees and its hands on its head.

9. Full-page illustration. Urizen, with closed eyes, tries to rise from his knees as rocks press down his shoulders.

10. *Chap. IV*, 1–6. Begins: *Ages on ages roll'd over him.* Above, Los, his head beneath a rock, struggles to push through the masses of stone.

11. 1 *Urizen.* C: IV, 7–10. Begins: *From the caverns of his jointed Spine.* Below, the now partly fleshed skeleton of Urizen sits among flames, his feet fastened with balls and chains; on the right Orc, holding his hammer, sits contorted and looks at him.

12. Full-page illustration. Urizen, fully fleshed, swims through dark waters.

13. [*Chap. IV*], [10]–12, and *Chap. V*, 1–7. Begins: *Two Nostrils bent down to the deep.* In the centre, the vague female figure of Ahania pushes through masses of dark clouds. (Cf. *Ahania*, pl. 2.)

14. Full-page illustration. A nude man, possibly Urizen, balancing himself head downwards, tries to push through the clouds.

15. 1 *Urizen C: V:* [7]. Begins: *Thus the Eternal Prophet was divided.* Below, the Eternals, two youths and two bearded old men, lean out of the sky to spread a curtain over the earth. Above them is an eagle. (In several copies one of the youths and the eagle are painted out.)

16. Full-page illustration. Los (but in copy A with a beard) falls through fire with his knees drawn up to his chin and his hands clasped behind his head.

17. Full-page illustration. From a globe of blood rises Enitharmon, whose form is crouched over it, her hair streaming down and her hands over her ears.

18. 1 *Urizen. C: V*, 8–10. Begins: *The globe of life blood trembled.* Below, Los strides through rock and flame, his arms outstretched, one hand on the rock, the other holding a hammer.

19. [*Chap. V*], [10]–12, and *Chap. VI*, 1–10. Begins: *They call'd her Pity, and fled.* Above, Enitharmon twists away from Los who kneels with his bowed head between his arms.

20. 1 *Urizen* [*C. VI*, 10]–11, *Chap. VII*, 1–10, and *Chap. VIII*, 1. Begins: *Stretch'd for a work of eternity.* Below, Orc, a naked child, plunges headlong through flames.

21. Full-page illustration. Los, a bearded and naked figure, stands on the right, a chain fastened to a band about his chest and his hands resting on a large hammer, looking sadly at Enitharmon who is being hugged by the boy Orc.

22. Full-page illustration. Urizen squats weeping, fettered by the ankles and wrists, his eyes closed and a halo behind his head.

23. 1 *Urizen. C. VIII*, [1]–5. Begins: *Of life on his forsaken mountains.* Above, Urizen, in a long robe, strides to the right, holding a globe of fire in his right hand and with his left stretched out in front of him; a lion meets him; hills are in the background.

24. Full-page illustration. At the top, the flaming head and arms of Fuzon appear; below him in the clouds floats Thiriel, his hands drawn back in surprise; at the bottom on the left the upraised head of Utha rises out of dark waters; and on the right Grodna pushes himself out of the rocky ground. (In copy D only Thiriel and Utha appear.)

25. [*Chap. VIII*], [5]–9, and *Chap. IX*, 1–4. Begins: *The Ox in the slaughter house moans.* Above, the three daughters of Urizen emerge from the coils of a great winged worm. (In some copies one of the daughters does not appear; the line, *And the Web is a Female in embrio*, in Chap. VIII, verse 7, was removed from the plate and is found only in copies B and E.)

26. Full-page illustration. A boy stands with clasped hands in sorrow as a large dog to the left lies howling before a closed door.

27. Full-page illustration. An old man, in a long trailing white robe and with hands upraised, seen from behind, flies inward.

28. 1 *Urizen. C*: *IX*, [4]–9. Begins: *They lived a period of years.* Below, Urizen sits enmeshed in a net of heavy rope, his arms resting on rocks at each side of him.

NOTE

Although *Urizen* is one of the later Lambeth books, it is the first chapter of Blake's original version of the universal myth, later modified in the unpublished MS. *The Four Zoas* and abandoned by the time *Jerusalem* was written. The book begins rather abruptly after the time of eternal oneness, and already the main character, Urizen, the personification of dogmatic reason in the likeness of the primitive Hebrew Jehovah, has split off from eternity. In a chaotic universe peopled by shadowy eternals who came into being as a result of this fission, Urizen-Reason begins to struggle for order. From the mists of eternity Los, poetic genius and the symbol of Time, appears, and, since error to be opposed must be defined, he forces on Urizen the creation of a material world. As the sad process of materialization continues, Los's emanation, Enitharmon-Pity, splits off from him, and together they produce Orc, the spirit of revolt who will eventually herald the messianic age. The myth is complicated and vague, and it is difficult to follow its contortions and ramifications. However, the result of Urizen's original error—the true fall, according to Blake—becomes clear. The eternals are compressed into the bodies of men, and from watery chaos an earth is created. To control the world which he has made, Urizen then establishes religion, in whose web both he and mankind are entangled as civilization emerges in Egypt.

Seven copies of the book are known. There are also some scattered plates, probably proofs or rejected impressions rather than a broken-up additional copy. The volume is usually of quarto size, measuring about 26 × 18 cm., but one copy (B) is a folio. The number of plates, always printed on one side of the leaf only, varies from twenty-four to twenty-eight. The text is written throughout in italic.

Issued in 1794, *The First Book of Urizen* was obviously to be only the first chapter, but Blake never carried on his scheme as originally planned, and instead wrote his continuation of the myth under different titles. The word *First* was erased from the *Preludium* and colophon of copy A,[1] and from the title as well in the last copy made (G). The text also underwent several minor changes as Blake issued copies. In only three (B, C and F) the lines, *And the Web is a Female in embrio*, in Chap. VIII, verse 7 (pl. 25), has been allowed to stand. In only three (A, B, and C) is pl. 4 included at all, and in one of these (A) the last line, *All the seven deadly sins of the soul*, has been erased. The text is divided into ten chapters, but two plates (8 and 10) contain entirely different versions of the first six verses of Chap. IV. Both appear in all the copies, although their order is transposed in some. Most of the variations in arrangement, however, are due to the shifting of the full-page illustrations. With the exception of pl. 4, the other plate most frequently lacking in copies without the full number is the full-page design, pl. 16.

[1] Also the numeral 1 from most of the page headings.

Six of the copies seem to have been completed in 1794–95. It is almost impossible to arrange these in any definite order of sequence, for there is no reason to suppose that Blake was any more consistent in the inclusion or exclusion of individual plates than he was in their arrangement. Furthermore, it is most difficult to determine whether Blake actually scraped cancelled words or lines from the copper or erased from the paper. Of the six early copies, two have no watermark, one I TAYLOR, two 1794 J WHATMAN, and one both. They are printed in various tones of brown or green, and all have the designs colour-printed, although in copy B this is limited to the backgrounds. The seventh copy (G) is of a later date, on paper watermarked RUSE & TURNERS 1818, very magnificently painted in bright water-colours with added gold. Since the impasto used in the colour-printing and the heavy water-colours cover the lines of the designs, Blake introduced variations in them, and some figures have been over-painted or substantially altered in different copies. The full-page designs occasionally occur as separate prints, as do a number of the designs with the text omitted. While some of these may have been done for a collection similar to *The Small* or *Large Books of Design* (*q.v.*), some certainly never formed part of any volume. Blake did use designs from other books for this purpose too, but *Urizen* was the source for most of these separate impressions.

The book was evidently written after the *Prospectus* of 1793 had appeared, and it is not on this list. In 1818 it was offered as 'Urizen 28 prints quarto £5. 5. 0', although there is no copy of that date extant containing the full number of twenty-eight plates. In 1827 the price was six guineas. Isaac D'Israeli (B), George Cumberland (F), and possibly Baron Dimsdale (A) were the only original owners so far identified.

COPIES

A 28 plates on 28 leaves. Watermark I TAYLOR, on one leaf. Printed in red-brown, except pl. 4 which is in orange-brown. Brilliantly colour-printed, and carefully finished with opaque pigments and water-colour washes; the text in many places strengthened with red ink. Originally foliated by Blake in red, but most of the numbers now erased. Present arrangement, which differs from Blake's: 1, 19, 22, 2, 3, 4, 12, 5–7, 17, 8, 10, 11, 14, 13, 18, 21, 15, 16, 20, 9, 23, 26, 25, 28, 27, 24. The word *First* appears on the title, but was erased from the *Preludium* and colophon after the plates were printed; the last line on pl. 3 tentatively scored through; without the last line on pl. 4; the first two lines on pl. 5 scored through; and without the extra line in Chap. VIII, verse 7, on pl. 25. Size: 25·5 × 18 cm. Formerly in boards, probably original, but in recent times rebound in straight-grain morocco, gilt, by Cockerell, working for W. H. Smith and Co.; the rearrangement may have been done at this time, though it seems unlikely that the numbering would have been removed by anyone, except Blake himself.

The volume is believed to have belonged to the 1st Baron Dimsdale (1712–1800), who probably obtained it from Blake himself. It has come by direct inheritance to the present owner, Major T. E. Dimsdale.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 83; National Book League, 1947, no. 194.

B 28 plates on 28 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR, on five leaves, and 1794 J WHATMAN, on two leaves. Printed in shades of brown and green. Very beautifully coloured, with water-colours chiefly, but occasionally with some colour-printing in the backgrounds. Foliated by Blake 1–28 in black ink. Arrangement: 1–4, 14, 5–7, 10, 12, 8, 11, 22, 13, 9, 15–19, 24, 20, 21, 23, 25–28. The word *First* appears on the title, *Preludium*, and colophon; with the last line on pl. 4; the left-hand figure in the design on pl. 15 painted over; with the extra line in Chap. VIII, verse 7, on pl. 25. Size: 38·4 × 27·2 cm., uncut. The leaves, which show Blake's stitch-holes, now mounted on hinges in a volume bound in half calf over boards.

The Beaconsfield copy, probably bought from Blake by Isaac D'Israeli, with the Beaconsfield library marks dated 1856. Sold with that collection at Sotheby's, 20 March 1882 (lot 60, Ellis and White, £59). Offered by Ellis and White in their catalogue, November 1882 (£75), and acquired by B. B. Macgeorge of Glasgow. Sold with his library at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 117, G. Wells, £580). Then purchased by A. Edward Newton, who inserted his book-plate, and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 131, Rosenbach, $8250). Now in the possession of Mrs Landon K. Thorne, of New York.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall., 1913, no. 99; Manchester, 1914, no. 159; Nat. Gall. Scotland, 1914, Case B, no. 5; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 75.

C 25 plates on 25 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. The designs printed in
[G] brilliant colours with thick opaque pigments and worked up with water-colour washes. No foliation, but some of the later plates numbered in pencil. Present arrangement: 1–4, 12, 5, 6, 9–11, 13, 22, 15, 14, 18, 17, 19, 21, 20, 23, 27, 24–26, 28. Lacks pls. 7, 8, 16. The word *First* appears on the title, *Preludium*, and colophon. Pl. 4 has the last line, and there are no other erasures, except of the usual two lines on pl. 6. A second impression of the *Preludium* leaf is inserted after the title-page. It is printed in pale brown on thin paper of a smaller size and is inlaid. The background is colour printed, but the details are worked in water-colour washes. The words *Preludium to the First Book of* have been painted out. This insertion was previously recorded as 'a coloured drawing'. Size 30 × 24 cm. Bound in brown morocco, gilt, g.e., by Bedford.

Offered for sale in 1854 in a catalogue of John Pearson's stock (£55). Later in the library of Thomas Gaisford, and has his book-plate. Sold with the Gaisford library at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 191, Nugent, £66). Then acquired for the Britwell Court Library, and now in the possession of Major S. V. Christie-Miller, of Clarendon Park, Salisbury.

D 26 plates on 26 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN. Printed in brown. Thickly
[C] colour-printed with opaque pigments. Foliated by Blake 1–26. Arranged as above, but lacking pls. 4 and 16. The word *First* appears on the title, *Preludium*, and colophon; the two figures on pl. 6 and two of the figures on pl. 24 painted over. Size: 26 × 18 cm. Bound in half morocco.

Purchased from F. T. Palgrave in 1859 by the British Museum Print Room.

E [D] 24 plates on 24 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN, on one leaf. Printed in green. Colour-printed with opaque pigments. Arrangement: 1, 3, 5, 12, 2, 6, 14, 7, 10, 8, 11, 22, 13, 15, 18, 17, 19, 12, 20, 21, 23, 26–28. Lacks pls. 4, 9, 16, 24. The word *First* appears on the title, *Preludium*, and colophon. Size: 29·5 × 23·5 cm. Bound in brown morocco, gilt, by Clarke and Bedford.

Formerly owned by Sir Charles Dilke, from whom it was obtained by Frederick Locker-Lampson, who added his book-plate. When the Rowfant Library was sold in 1905 through Dodd, Mead and Co., the book was acquired by E. D. Church. Then in the possession of Mrs Harry Payne Whitney, of New York, and now in that of her heirs.

F [E] 26 plates on 26 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. The designs superbly and brightly colour-printed, and carefully finished with opaque pigments. Foliated in pencil. Former arrangement: 1–3, 5, 12, 6, 7, 14, 10, 8, 9, 11, 13, 22, 15, 18, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23–28. Lacks pls. 4 and 16. The word *First* appears on the title, *Preludium*, and colophon; with the extra line in Chap. VIII, verse 7, on pl. 25. Size: 26·5 × 18·3 cm. Formerly bound, together with *Thel*, copy A, and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, copy A, in old half calf; now loose in the old covers.

George Cumberland's copy, for history see *Thel*, copy A. After the death of E. W. Hooper, when the volume was divided up, *Urizen* came into the possession of Mrs Ward Thoron, of Boston.

G [F] 27 plates on 27 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1818, on several leaves. Printed in yellow-brown. Very richly and elaborately painted with bright water-colours and gold, some backgrounds bearing evidence of having been colour-printed. Foliated 1–27 by Blake. Arrangement: 1–3, 9, 5, 12, 6, 14, 7, 8, 22, 10, 11, 16, 13, 15, 17–21, 23, 27, 24–26, 28. Lacks pl. 4. The word *First* does not appear on the title-page, *Preludium*, or colophon. Size: 26·5 × 23·5 cm. Bound in brown morocco, g.e., by the Club Bindery, 1908.

Formerly in the collection of the Earl of Crewe, and sold by him at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 6, Quaritch, £307). Acquired by William A. White, and sold in 1929 to Rosenbach with other Blake items. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 27; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 76.

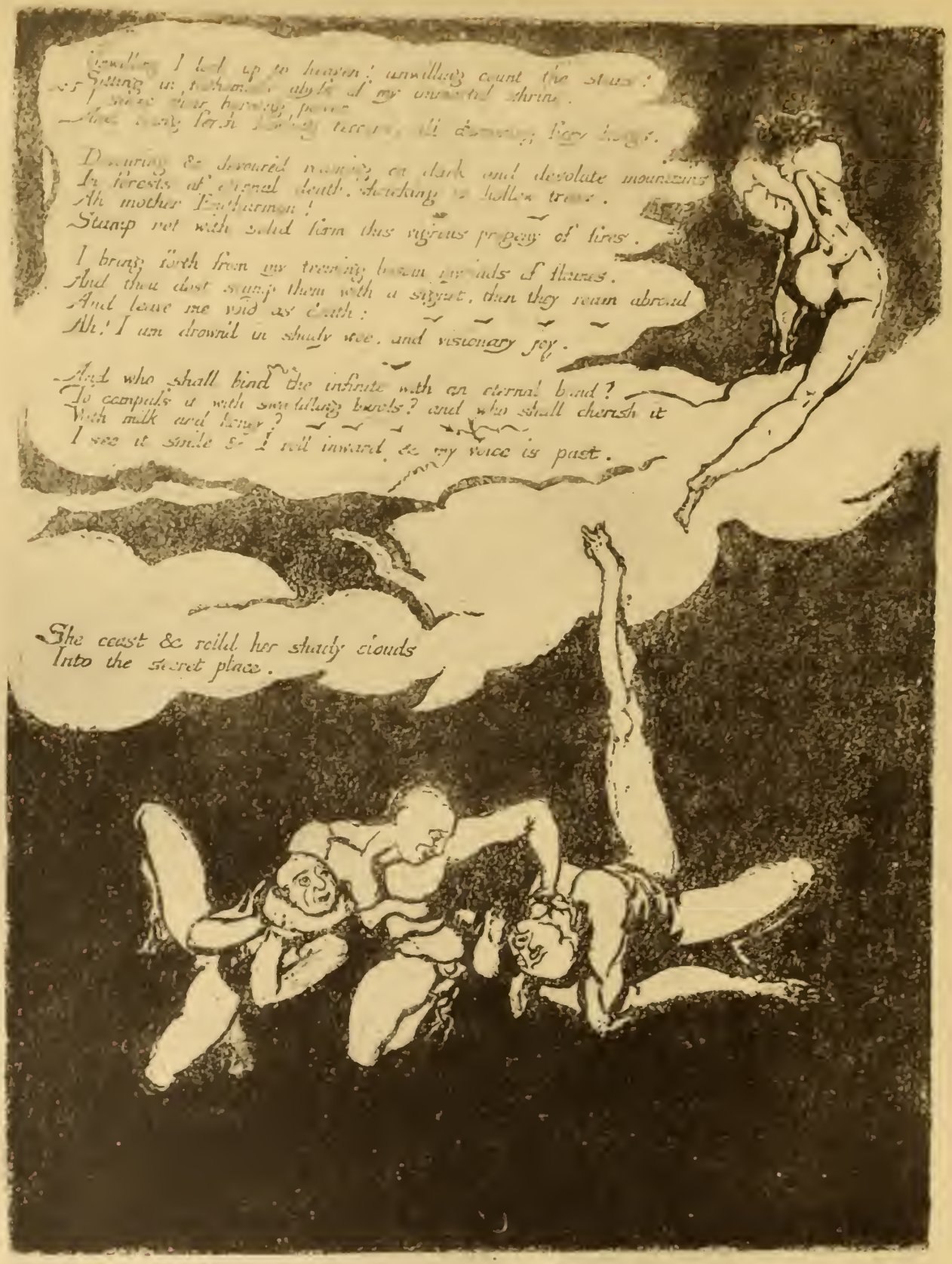
H* 3 plates on 3 leaves. No watermark. Printed in shades of brown or green. Colour-printed. Consists of 1, 4 and 25. Size: about 18·2 × 14·1 cm., inlaid to large quarto size. Bound in blue levant morocco, gilt, by Macdonald.

Probably in the same volume of Blakiana as the three proofs (*a–c*) of *America*, for history, *q.v.* When the volume was broken up by George C. Smith, Jr., these plates were bound up together. Sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 34, Sessler, $250). Now in the possession of Charles J. Rosenbloom, of Pittsburgh.

I* 2 plates on 2 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Colour-printed. Consists of 4 and 10. Size: 20·3 × 14·8, and 21·8 × 17·6 cm. Matted.

Part of a collection of miscellaneous Blake items bound up together with the proofs of *Thel*, for history, *q.v.* Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: In *Works by William Blake* 1876; William Muir, coloured, 1888 (copy B); E.Y., iii reduced, without pl. 4; Dent, ed. Plowman, coloured, 1929 (copy A).


Unwilling I look up to heaven! unwilling count the stars!
Sitting in fathomless abyss of my unmoved shrine.
I seize their burning power
And bring forth lowing terrors, all dumming fiery hoops.
Devouring & devoured roaming on dark and desolate mountains
In forests of eternal death, shrieking to hollow trees.
Ah mother Enitharmon!
Stamp not with solid form this vigrous progeny of fires.
I bring forth from my teeming bosom myriads of flames.
And thou dost stamp them with a signet, then they roam abroad
And leave me void as death:
Ah! I am drown'd in shady woe, and visionary joy.
And who shall bind the infinite with an eternal band?
To compass it with swaddling bands? and who shall cherish it
With milk and honey?
I see it smile & I roll inward, & my voice is past.
She ceast & roll'd her shady clouds
Into the secret place.

EUROPE | a | PROPHECY | LAMBETH | Printed by Will: Blake: 1794

DESCRIPTION

Frontispiece, title, 2 pls., Preface, 1 pl., *Preludium*, 2 pls., *A Prophecy*, 13 pls. = 18 plates, about 24 × 17 cm. (except pl. iii), relief etching and some white line engraving, usually painted with water-colours.

CONTENTS

[i] Frontispiece. Urizen, as the Creator of the material world, kneels in the sun reaching his left hand with a huge pair of compasses down into the void; his hair and beard stream to his right, clouds surround the sun. A trial proof in the British Museum shows a large dark area on the left margin of the cloud in the sector between the beard and arm; in the published state this was filled in with white lines. In the proof the rays of the sun do not cross the tip of the cloud to the right of the arm; they do in the later state. (One of Blake's most famous designs, sometimes known as *The Ancient of Days* or as *The Act of Creation*. A preliminary sketch appears on p. 96 of the Notebook.)

[ii] Title-page. *Europe*, etc. The Serpent of Materialism coils about the page and raises its head between the words of the title. Part of one coil does not come on to the plate, as if it had been cut down after the design had been etched. (A proof of the plate in the Morgan Library has the figure of Urizen drawn in riding up the serpent; and another, formerly belonging to Lady D. Y. Cameron and now to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, shows a large kneeling figure with an arm resting on the coils. Reproduced in the *Bibliography*, 1921.)

[iii] Preface. Begins: *Five windows light the caverned Man; through one he breathes the air*. No design. Found only in copies H and K. A smaller plate, 9·5 × 13·5 cm.

1. *Preludium*. Begins: *The nameless shadowy female rose from out the breast of Orc*. Above, a young pilgrim with a pack on his back and a staff in his hand walks towards the left; on the right a nude assassin crouching in a cave with a dagger in his hand lies in wait for him; below is a bat-winged head with its arms wrapped round its ears within the coils of a serpent, and a nude man falling headlong with a weight fastened to his wrists. A trial proof in the Morgan Library has no white lines breaking up the shading on the figure of the pilgrim, nor in the ruts of the road; a second state in the British Museum shows white lines on thighs, crotch and right shoulder of the figure, and on the road; the published state has more lines on the right shoulder, and new ones below the belt and on the pack. (A sketch for the figure of the assassin is on p. 97, and for the bat-winged head on p. 74 of the Notebook.)

2. Begins: *Unwilling I look up to heaven! unwilling count the stars!* Below, in clouds a flying male nude grasps two others by the throat, while above to the right a fourth escapes into the clouds. A trial proof in the Morgan Library has the clouds above and below solidly printed; in the published state they are broken up with white lines. (A sketch for the group of three figures is pasted on to p. 8 of the Notebook.)

3. *A Prophecy.* Begins: *The deep of winter came.* Around the heading fly the Joys of Innocence; below it an angel floats across the plate face down with her hands clasped behind her head; below her, at the right, is a seated figure wrapped in thought within a globe.

4. Begins: *The shrill winds wake!* Below, the kneeling nude figure of Enitharmon leans over from a cloud to lift a mantle from the prone and sleeping Orc, from whose head flames radiate; above them revel the smaller figures of Enitharmon's children.

5. Begins: *Now comes the night of Enitharmons joy!* On the upper three-quarters of the plate stands the scaly, crowned, nude figure of War, with a large sword in his left hand; flames flow downward to the right beneath his feet; behind him stand the Angels of Pity and Compassion.

6. Full-page illustration. Two women, one crouching on the left with her head buried between her knees, the other on the right with clasped hands and upturned face, sit before a huge cauldron hung over a fire, which is being prepared for the dead child, stretched on the ground at the feet of the second woman. A trial proof in the Morgan Library shows no white lines in the smoke above the cauldron, nor on the shaded folds of the skirt of the woman on the right and above the child's arm; in a second state in the British Museum the smoke, fold shadows, and child's side are white-lined; in the published state more white lines have been added on the left leg folds and immediately to the left of the woman's foot. (Sometimes known as *Famine.*)

7. Full-page illustration. A tall dark-robed figure of a man with a bell moves towards the left before a door marked *Lord have mercy on us*; in front of him on the left a man leans down to support a woman seated on the ground; and to the right another woman is about to kneel with upraised arms in an attitude of passionate supplication. A trial proof in the British Museum shows no white lines on the hat and coat of the bell-man, nor on the chest of the other man; there are no diagonals at the lower edge of the seated woman's dress; in the published state these are added, and also more white-line definition has been given to the hair of both women. (Sometimes known as *Plague*; Damon places this after pl. 11.)

8. Begins: *Arise O Rintrah eldest born.* Below, against a background of clouds a kneeling woman clasps the legs of an aged man, who stands upright with his arms stretched out in front of him as though to ward off horrors.

9. Begins: *Enitharmon slept.* Above, through stalks of wheat which curve up from below, two nudes, male and female, fly up blowing spiral horns from which drops black mildew.

10. Begins: *In thoughts perturb'd they rose.* A crested, fire-breathing serpent coils up on the left-hand margin of the plate.

11. Begins: *Albions Angel rose upon the Stone of Night.* Above, covering most of the plate, is a fat, triple-crowned Pope with bat's wings seated on a Gothic throne with an open book on his knees; below him two winged Joys in long dresses hold down their fleur-de-lys headed wands.

12. Begins: *And the clouds & fires pale rolld round in the night of Enitharmon.* Down the right-hand margin and across the centre hang cobwebs with spiders and other insects; at the bottom a figure lies contorted in the meshes of a net and gazes upwards.

13. Begins: *The red limb'd Angel siez'd in horror and torment.* Below, a nude youth with fettered ankles sits to the left in a dungeon; his legs crossed, his hands raised in horror and

his face turned to the right, looking after the dark, scaly, nude figure of the jailor, who ascends some steps to the right with a large key in his hand.

14. Begins: *Ethinthus queen of waters.* Along the right-hand margin, across the centre and below swarm caterpillars, snakes, worms, moths, spiders, snails and birds. A trial proof in the Morgan Library has the words *and the angel trumpet blew* filling the last half of the third line from the bottom; in the published state these were removed, the line ending with *gate.*

15. Begins: *Shot from the heights of Enitharmon.* Below, a nude man, carrying the inanimate body of a woman on his shoulders, flees from flames of Revolution which rage behind him up steps to the right dragging along by the arm a child. A trial proof in the British Museum has the words *before the trumpet blew* at the end of the first line; a second state in the Rosenwald Collection also has those words, but the snake-like finial of the *A* of the next to last line which appears directly below the space between *Call'd* and *all* has been erased; in the published state the words were erased, the line ending with *Enitharmon.* (Cf. *Job*, pl. 3.)

NOTE

Blake wrote *Europe* after he had finished *America*, but in his story of the mythology of the world it follows *The Song of Los* and precedes *America*, covering historically the eighteen hundred years of the Christian era which had already elapsed. Enitharmon—Inspiration, the Moon Goddess, Space—the typical female, imposes her rule on the world. She is separated from her eternal partner, Los—Poetry, the Sun God, Time—the typical male. As a result of this cleavage the false doctrines of repressive religion and law hold sway and bring the attendant miseries of War, Famine, Invasion and Plague upon mankind. At last, the stage is prepared for the arising of Orc, the spirit of Revolt, who will destroy the errors of Enitharmon's sway. The story is told in the text, and retold again in the designs.

The title-page of *Europe* is dated 1794. As in *America*, Blake reworked his plates, apparently unsatisfied by his first proofs. These proofs, of which individual impressions exist, show that he changed at least seven plates during the course of his work, in most cases adding engraved white lines to break up solid masses, but on pls. 14 and 15 removing several words which were not printed before 1939. At some time, probably about 1800, he etched an additional plate with a delightful preface, which is to be found only in copies H and K. That it was not prepared at the time the volume was first issued seems apparent from the fact that the earliest copies, without exception, do not contain it. Damon, however, felt that Blake suppressed it because it expressed too clearly one of his most vital beliefs—that salvation was allied to sexual feeling—and one most likely to be misunderstood. It seems more likely that Blake felt his poem needed the explanation, and that its failure to appear in the latest copies may have been due to the loss of the smaller additional plate rather than suppression.

Twelve copies of the book are known. It consists usually of seventeen plates, in two instances as noted of eighteen, printed on folio paper, measuring about 36 × 26 cm., in eight of the copies on one side of the leaf only. The position of the two full-page illustrations sometimes varies, but the arrangement of the text is otherwise constant. The earliest copy (A) bears the watermark 1794 J WHATMAN and is sombrely painted with opaque pigments and water-colours. The next five (B–F), all with the watermark I TAYLOR (in

B and C combined with 1794 J WHATMAN), are colour-printed, and would seem therefore to belong to the year 1795. Copy G, with water-colouring only, also on 1 TAYLOR paper, was probably done shortly thereafter. An uncoloured example (H) on E & P paper is the first to contain the added plate iii. Only two other copies, printed during his lifetime, have survived; one on RUSE & TURNERS 1812 paper is uncoloured, the other on J WHATMAN 1818–20 is a magnificent richly coloured copy, characteristic of Blake's later period. One definitely posthumous copy is known. Another copy (L) is of uncertain date, the watermark being partially obliterated, and may be posthumous; it was coloured recently.

Sketches for a few of the designs are to be found in the Notebook (Rossetti MS.), but no MS. authority for the text. However, in copy D on most of the plates are titles or quotations in the hand of George Cumberland which may have been suggested to him by Blake, and are most illuminating as to literary sources from which Blake may have drawn inspiration for his designs. The book was not advertised in the *Prospectus* of 1793, but in 1818 it was offered by Blake as 'Europe 17 prints folio £5. 5. 0', and in 1827 the price was six guineas. The only copies which are known to have belonged to contemporaries of Blake are those originally in the possession of Isaac D'Israeli (A), Thomas Butts (C or D), and John Linnell (K). A copy was described in J. T. Smith's life of Blake in 1828 by Richard Thomson, which, he writes, was 'coloured to imitate the ancient fresco painting', and evidently was one of those colour-printed with opaque pigments. This was one of the copies so printed (B–F), but at the end were added a series of coloured prints without letterpress, which undoubtedly formed the series described here as *A Large Book of Designs*. The frontispiece, often known as *The Ancient of Days*, also occurs as a separate print. It was one of Blake's favourite designs, and Tatham relates that he was engaged in colouring a copy on his death-bed.

COPIES

*a** proofs — 11 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green. Uncoloured. No foliation. Consists of i, ii, 1–4, 6–8, 14–15. Pls. i, 7 and 15 in the first state as described above; pls. 1 and 6 in the second; others apparently as published. Size: 33 × 26 cm., uncut.

Formerly in the possession of Major Alexander Sykes, D.S.O., M.D., and sold at Sotheby's, 29 July 1936 (lot 1006, Rimell, £26). Now in the British Museum Print Room.

*b** proofs — 12 plates on 7 leaves. No watermark. Printed in green and grey-green, except pl. 12 which is in red-brown. No foliation. Consists of ii, 1 (twice), 2, 6 (twice), 8, 12 (posthumous, with watermark J WHATMAN 1832), 13 and 14 (three times). Pls. 1, 2, 6, and 14 (twice) are in the first state as described above; pl. 14 is also in the second. Size varying from 37·9 × 29 cm. to 24 × 17·7 cm. Matted, in portfolio.

Formerly bound up with other Blake items in a volume in the collection of Henry White. For history, see *Thel*, proofs. Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

*c** proofs — 26 proof plates on 17 leaves. Printed in various shades of grey, green and brown. Mostly uncoloured. No foliation. Consisting of i (twice), ii, 1 (twice), 2 (three times), 3, 4, 6 (three times), 7, 8 (three times), 9, 10, 11, 12 (twice), 13, 14 (three times). For history, see *America*, proofs. Sold at the George C. Smith, Jr., sale at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lots 27–33), and now scattered.

Europe, a Prophecy

A 17 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, on six leaves. Printed in olive-brown. The frontispiece painted in sombre water-colours, with some opaque pigment on pls. ii and 1. Foliated by Blake after the title-page 1–15. Pl. 7 is between pls. 10 and 11; otherwise arranged as above. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 37·5 × 27 cm., uncut. The leaves, which show Blake's stitch-holes, were mounted on hinges in a volume bound in boards, and are now bound in brown levant morocco, by Riviere.

The Beaconsfield copy, probably bought from Blake by Isaac D'Israeli. Beaconsfield's library marks, dated 1856, show that at that time the first five plates were missing. They were still missing when the book was sold with the Beaconsfield library at Sotheby's, 20 March 1882 (lot 57, Bain, £8. 5*s*.). Then acquired by B. B. Macgeorge, of Glasgow. The missing plates came to light with other Blake originals from an anonymous source, and were sold at Hodgson's, 14 January 1905 (lot 225, Hopkins, £80). They were secured by Macgeorge and restored to their original position, and since the leaves had been somewhat cut down, they were inlaid to their original size (cf. history of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy F). Sold with the Macgeorge collection at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 116, G. Wells, £500). Acquired by George C. Smith, Jr., and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 26, Sessler, $13,000). Then in the possession of Moncure Biddle, and sold by him through Gannon to Paul Mellon, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 69.

B* 17 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR, on two leaves, and 1794 J WHATMAN, on two leaves. The full-page plates and larger designs printed in golden-brown; the smaller decorations and text in shades of green. Partly colour-printed in rich tones, with water-colours added to achieve a splendid effect. Pls. 1–15 foliated by Blake in green. Arrangement: i, ii, 1–6, 8–11, 7, 12–15; pls. 7 and 12 reversed in the binding. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 37·5 × 27 cm. In a roxburghe binding, together with *America*, copy G, and *Jerusalem*, copy B.

For history, see *America*, copy G. Now in the possession of Lord Cunliffe. 239857

C 17 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR, on three leaves, 1794 J WHATMAN, on
[B] two leaves. Printed in green and blue. Richly and sombrely colour-printed. Foliated by Blake. Arranged as above, except that pls. 6 and 7 follow pls. 4 and 9. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 37 × 27 cm. Unbound, each leaf mounted on cardboard.

Said to have been bought from Thomas Butts by Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton. Sold by his son, the Earl of Crewe, at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 5, Quaritch, £203). Then acquired by William A. White, and given by him to his son-in-law, F. M. Weld, Jr. Bought from the Weld estate by Harold T. White, of New York.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 21.

D 17 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR. Printed in green. Colour-printed, with water-colour washes added. Plates 1–15 paginated by Blake in blue. On most of the plates are ink titles for the designs or quotations illustrating them from various authors in the hand of George Cumberland, who may have obtained them from Blake. Arranged

as above. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 36 × 25·5 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e., together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy A.

Probably the Butts copy, originally bound with three other works. For history, see *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy B. Now in the British Museum Print Room.

E 17 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR, on one leaf. Printed in shades of green, blue, brown, and red, different colours sometimes on the same plate, some lettering strengthened with coloured inks. Designs mostly brilliantly colour-printed; all carefully finished and finely painted with water-colours and opaque pigments. Numbered in ink by Blake, 3, 5, 7, etc. Arranged as above. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 37·1 × 26 cm. Bound in brown levant morocco, gilt, by F. Bedford.

Formerly in the possession of Thomas Gaisford, with his book-plate, and sold with his library at Sotheby's, 23 April 1890 (lot 190, Robson, £59). Acquired by Alexander Mackay, and after his death inherited by his widow, who sold it at Christie's, 26 April 1921 (lot 2, 'Shoebridge', £600). Bought in 1922 by A. Edward Newton, who added his book-plate, and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 129, Rosenbach, $8000). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 70.

F* 17 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR, on one leaf. Printed in green and brown. Parts of some designs colour-printed; all carefully and finely painted with water-colours, and some opaque pigment, blue, green and tan the predominating tones. Paginated, after the title, in ink by Blake 1–15. Arranged as above. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 38·4 × 27·4 cm. In the original wrappers, uncut, in half brown morocco case.

With an unidentified collector's mark, a crowned monogram D W J, on three plates; history otherwise not known. Sold from an anonymous source at American Art Association, 1 February 1928 (lot 8, W. M. Hill, $11,300). Acquired by Owen D. Young, who in 1941 gave it jointly with Dr A. A. Berg to the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

G 17 plates on 10 leaves. Watermark 1 TAYLOR. Printed in green, brown or blue.
[c] Elaborately painted with dull water-colour washes. The last fifteen plates paginated by Blake 1–15. Arranged as above. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 36 × 25 cm. Bound, together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy H, and *The Song of Los*, copy C, in old half red morocco.

For history, see *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy H. Now in the possession of Mrs William Emerson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 22.

H 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark E & P, on two leaves. Printed in dark brown.
[F] Uncoloured, but occasionally touched up with grey wash. Foliated in pencil. Former arrangement: iii, ii, i, 1–6, 8–11, 7, 12–15. Size: 36 × 25 cm. Formerly bound in half calf; now unbound and matted, in half blue morocco case.

Contained the inscription 'May 1835 H. G. Bohn N. 732'. Afterwards in the collection of William Beckford, and sold in the first part of the Hamilton Palace Library, Sotheby's, 4 July 1882 (lot 955, Ellis and White, £12. 5*s*.). Offered by Ellis

and White in their catalogue, November 1882 for £45. Acquired by E. W. Hooper, of Boston, and left by him to his daughter, Mrs John B. Potter, who gave it in 1941 in memory of her father to the Harvard College Library.

Exhib.: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1891, no. 6; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 71.

I* 17 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark R & T, on ten leaves, and RUSE & TURNER 1812, on seven leaves. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Foliated by Blake. Arrangement: i, ii, 1, 7, 6, 2–5, 8–15. Lacks pl. iii. Size: 32·5 × 24 cm. Bound in red flowered cloth, with red leather spine, together with *America*, copy N.

For history, see *America*, copy N. Now in the Sir George Grey Collection, Auckland Public Library, New Zealand.

K [I] 18 plates on 18 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1818, 1819, and 1820. Printed in orange-red. Very beautifully and elaborately painted with water-colours and gold. Foliated by Blake 1–18 in black. Arranged as above, except that pls. 6 and 7 are transposed. Size: 30·5 × 23·5 cm. Bound in vellum, together with *America*, copy O.

John Linnell's copy. For history, see *America*, copy O. Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall., 1913, no. 90; Manchester, 1914, no. 145; Nat. Gall. Scotland, 1914, case A, no. 3; B.F.A.C., 1927, no. 81 (1).

L [II] 17 plates on 17 leaves. Watermarks T STAINS on each leaf, with a date partally obliterated [?1813] on plates 9 and 11. Printed in black. Recently painted with water-colours, gold being used on several plates. Arrangement: i, ii, 1, 2, 7, 6, 3–5, 8–15. Lacks pl. iii. Foliated 1–17. The copper-plate maker's stamp was visible on some plates before the colouring was added. Size: formerly 33·5 × 22·5 cm., now trimmed to 27 × 22 cm. The leaves were trimmed individually, so that the offset of the plates does not now correspond to the impressions. Bound in red morocco gilt, g.e., by Riviere.

This copy was formerly bound in grey calf together with *America*, copy Q. The volume was sold at Sotheby's, 20 February 1913 (lot 59, Sabin, £66), after having been for many years in the library of R. A. Potts. The colouring was added soon afterwards for Walter T. Spencer, who sold it in the same year to Herschel V. Jones. Due to this the book was originally listed as copies G and H. Sold with the Jones Library at Anderson's, 2 December 1918 (lot 184, G. D. Smith, $4600). Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

M [K] Posthumous copy. 17 plates on 17 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1832. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. Arranged as above. The copper-plate maker's stamp is visible on some plates. Size: 28 × 22·5 cm. Bound in contemporary morocco, elaborately tooled, g.e., together with *America*, copy P.

Samuel Boddington's copy. For history, see *America*, copy P. Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: In *Works by William Blake*, 1876; William Muir, 1887, coloured, from several sources; EY, iii, reduced and without pls. 6 and 7; in green, no place or date (before 1907).

[A SMALL BOOK OF DESIGNS] Lambeth. Printed by Will Blake 1794 [1796]

DESCRIPTION

23 [or 25] miscellaneous designs from the Illuminated Books without text, relief etchings of various sizes, colour-printed.

CONTENTS

(As found in copy A)

1. From *Urizen*, pl. 1; lettered Lambeth, etc., as above.
2. From *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, pl. 11.
3. From *Urizen*, pl. 17.
4. From *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, pl. 16.
5. The same, pl. 14.
6. The same, pl. 20.
7. From *Urizen*, pl. 23.
8. The same, pl. 24, lower half only. The head emerging from the water is the only figure shown. The sea is black and flecked with foam; behind is a stormy sunset.
9. The same, pl. 3.
10. From *Thel*, pl. ii.
11. From *Urizen*, pl. 26.
12. The same, pl. 2.
13. The same, pl. 8.
14. The same, pl. 19.
15. The same, pl. 10.
16. From *Thel*, pl. 4.
17. From *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, pl. 7.
18. From *Urizen*, pl. 7.
19. The same, pl. 11.
20. From *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, pl. iii.
21. From *Urizen*, pl. 5.
22. From *Thel*, pl. 5.
23. The same, pl. 2.

NOTE

There is no evidence to show that Blake ever made more than the two examples, which are recorded below, of this remarkable series of designs. One of these is probably the volume referred to by Blake in a letter to Dawson Turner, dated 9 June 1818, where he wrote: 'I send you a List of the different Works you have done me the honour to enquire after...

PLATE 5

"Much is the Way"
"The Right or the Left"

A Small Book of Designs

Those I Printed for Mr Humphry [i.e. Ozias Humphry, miniaturist] are a selection from the different Books of such as could be Printed without the Writing, tho' to the Loss of some of the best things. For they, when Printed perfect, accompany Poetical Personifications & Acts, without which Poems they could never have been Executed.' (*Poetry and Prose*, 1939, p. 916.)

Both copies would seem to have been executed in 1795–96, the period of Blake's experimentation with colour-printing. The leaves of copy B, which did not consist of exactly the same series of prints as copy A, and contained legends below most of the designs in Blake's autograph, have been distributed, but the title-page, now in my (G.K.'s) possession, has the date of the imprint altered from 1794 to 1796, which is presumably the date when it was made. The prints in both copies are elaborately colour-printed with opaque pigments, and some of them are exceedingly fine. Humphry lost his eyesight in 1797, but the further history of whichever copy was done for him is not known. Later, in 1828, one copy, evidently A, was described by Richard Thomson in J. T. Smith's account of Blake as follows: 'Another publication by Mr Blake consisted only of a small quarto volume of twenty-three engravings of various shapes and sizes, coloured as before, some of which are of extraordinary effect and beauty. The best plates in this series are: the first of an aged man, with a white beard sweeping the ground, and writing in a book with each hand, naked [no. 1 above]; a human figure pressing out his brains through his ears [no. 3 above]; and the great sea-serpent [no. 6 above]; but perhaps the best is a figure sinking in a stormy sea at sunset, the splendid light of which, and the foam upon the black waves, are almost magical effects of colouring [no. 8 above]. Beneath the first design is engraven *Lambeth printed by W. Blake* 1794.' (*Nollekens and his Times*, 1828, ii, 480.) The volume is also described by Gilchrist, i, 419–20.

Copies

A 23 plates on 23 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN, on pl. 3. Thickly colour-printed. Size: 26 × 19 cm. Formerly bound in half morocco, but the leaves now mounted separately in folders for exhibition. They were once numbered in pencil, now erased, but the record of the arrangement was obtained before the volume was dismembered.

Acquired in 1856 by the British Museum Print Room.

B A second copy, somewhat differently arranged, but the leaves have been distributed, although the stitch-holes in some show that they once formed part of a book, of which the following only have been located:

1. Colour-printed with some water-colour washes. Unnumbered. With the date in the imprint changed by Blake to 1796; within framing lines, inscribed by Blake below:

'Which is the Way
The Right or the Left.'

Size: 15 × 16·3 cm.

On the back is the inscription: 'This Coloured Print by Wm Blake was given me by his Widow Frederick Tatham Sculptor.' Acquired by Lord Killanin, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 28 July 1947 (lot 116, Keynes, £65). Now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

2. Colour-printed and finished with bright opaque pigments. Unnumbered. Inscribed below by Blake:

'Death & Hell
Teem with Life.'

Size: 13 × 18 cm. Framed and glazed.

Formerly in the possession of Herbert Gilchrist, and obtained from him about 1893 by Carl Edelheim. Given by him to his son-in-law A. Edward Newton, from whom it was inherited by his daughter, Miss Caroline Newton, of Daylesford, Pennsylvania.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 81.

5. Colour-printed. No watermark. Within double-line frame and outer light brown wash border. Numbered 9 by Blake, and inscribed by him below:

'a Flaming Sword
Revolving every way.'

Size: 12·4 × 19 cm. Matted.

Formerly in the possession of John Varley. Later acquired by Sydney Morse, and sold with his collection as 'The Soul hovering over the Body' at Christie's, 26 July 1929 (lot 19, Colnaghi, £78. 15*s*.). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

9. Colour-printed, within three framing lines and finished with water-colours. Unnumbered. Size: 10 × 15 cm.

Known as 'Flames of Furious Desire' from a pencil inscription on the mount. Said to have been sold by Mrs Blake to a dealer named E. Danniels. Afterwards in the collection of W. Graham Robertson, and sold at Christie's, 22 July 1949 (lot 87, Eames, £78. 15*s*.). Now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

12. Colour-printed, within three framing lines. Inscribed by Blake below:

'Teach these Souls to Fly.'

Size 18 × 20 cm. Framed and glazed.

In the Tate Gallery, London.

15. Colour-printed, within three framing lines. Numbered 20 by Blake (now erased), and inscribed by him below:

'Does the Soul labour thus'
In Caverns of The Grave.'

Size: 13·5 × 16·5 cm. Framed and glazed.

Formerly in the possession of Stopford A. Brooke, and sold as 'Original Drawing, in water colours' at Sotheby's, 9 April 1919 (lot 450, Edwards, £29). Acquired by Templeton Crocker, and sold by him to Chauncey B. Tinker, who gave it to Yale University Library, New Haven.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 79.

17. Colour-printed. Numbered 22 by Blake, and inscribed by him below:

'Wait Sisters
Tho all is Lost.'

Size: 10 × 16 cm.

Formerly in the collection of Dr Greville MacDonald. Now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

21. Colour-printed, within three framing lines. Numbered 19 by Blake (now erased), and inscribed by him below:

'The Book of my Remembrance.'

Size: 14·2 × 18 cm. Framed and glazed.

Formerly in the possession of Stopford A. Brooke, and sold as 'Original Drawing, in water colours' at Sotheby's, 9 April 1919 (lot 448, Tregaskis, £20). Acquired by Templeton Crocker, and sold by him to Chauncey B. Tinker, who gave it to Yale University Library, New Haven.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 78.

a From *Urizen*, pl. 9; not represented in copy A. Colour-printed. Numbered 13 by Blake, and inscribed by him below:

'Eternally I labour on.'

Size: 20·7 × 15·9 cm. Framed and glazed.

Formerly in the possession of Stopford A. Brooke, and sold as 'Original Drawing, in water colours' at Sotheby's, 9 April 1919 (lot 451, Tregaskis, £38). Acquired in 1921 through Gabriel Wells by A. Edward Newton. Sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 133, Sessler, $150). Now in the possession of Miss Caroline Newton, of Daylesford, Pa.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 80 (wrongly described as *Urizen*, pl. 10).

b From *Urizen*, pl. 12; not represented in copy A. Colour-printed. Inscribed below by Blake:

'I labor upwards into futurity.'

Size: 15 × 9·6 cm.

Formerly in the possession of Stopford A. Brooke, and sold as 'Original Drawing, in water colours' at Sotheby's, 9 April 1919 (lot 449). Acquired by Herschel V. Jones, and given by him to his daughter, Miss Tessie Jones, of Newburgh, N.Y.

[A LARGE BOOK OF DESIGNS. About 1795.]

DESCRIPTION

8 [or 9] miscellaneous designs without text, line-engravings and relief etchings of various sizes, colour-printed.

CONTENTS. (As found in copy A)

1. 'The Dance of Albion' or 'Glad Day', 27 × 20 cm.; similar to the early line engraving and evidently colour-printed from the same plate. See Russell, *Engravings*, p. 56.
2. 'The Accusers of Theft, Adultery, Murder', from a line engraving, 21 × 12 cm. See Russell, *Engravings*, p. 66.
3. From *Urizen*, pl. 21.
4. From *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, pl. 4.
5. The same, pl. i.
6. Joseph of Arimathea preaching to the inhabitants of Britain. 7·5 × 10·5 cm. See Russell, *Engravings*, p. 56.
7. From *Urizen*, pl. 14.
8. From *America*, pl. d.

NOTE

This series of designs is similar in many respects to that which has already been described as *A Small Book of Designs*, and was probably done about the same period. It may first have been executed by Blake for Ozias Humphry, but there are no definite records of its history. A colour-printed copy of *Europe* was described in J. T. Smith's life of Blake by Richard Thomson, who added: 'At the end of this poem are seven separate engravings on folio pages, without letter-press, which are coloured like the former part of the work, with a degree of splendour and force, as almost to resemble sketches in oil colours. The finest of these are a figure of an angel standing in the sun (pl. 1), a group of three furies surrounded by clouds and fire (no. 2), and a figure of a man sitting beneath a tree in the deepest dejection (no. 8); all of which are peculiarly remarkable for their strength and splendour of colouring' (*Nollekens and his Times*, 1828, ii, 479–80). This would seem to refer to copy A, which was separated at a later date from the copy of *Europe* with which they were originally associated.

Because of the existence of similar impressions of seven of the plates, it was supposed that Blake may have made another copy, now broken up. However, it has now been discovered that three of these at least once formed part of a copy of *The Song of Los*, copy B, and a fourth is at present bound up with copy E of the same book. In addition a ninth plate, not represented in copy A, but similar in style and treatment, has turned up, and it is possible that the frontispiece to copy F of the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, from the same source as *The Song of Los*, copy B, may have been a separate impression rather than the missing

plate originally issued with the book. The existence of similar miscellaneous plates, in part duplicating and in part supplementing those in copy A of *A Small Book of Designs*, would seem to indicate that while Blake may indeed have made two volumes of plates for Humphry he did not make similar second copies. No second copy of *A Large Book of Designs* as such seems to have been made. Rather it would seem that Blake made several impressions of these larger plates, together with others not there included, which he bound up with *The Song of Los*, or gave away or sold as individual pictures.

Since these cannot be said to belong inherently with *The Song of Los*, they are here described as formerly. The non-existent copy B is then a gathering of large plates of colour-printed designs, more of which may be found in the future.

COPIES

A 8 plates on 8 leaves. Watermark 1794 J WHATMAN. Thickly colour printed, and carefully finished with opaque pigments and water-colours. Several of the plates have been treated with peroxide to restore the darkened pigments; these now show an extraordinary brilliance of colouring. Unnumbered. Arranged as above. Size: 34·5 × 25 cm. Formerly bound in half morocco, but the leaves now mounted separately.

Acquired in 1856 for the British Museum Print Room.

B Other impressions of the same or similar plates:

1. Colour-printed, but not so thickly as in copy A, so that some of the engraved lines of the plate can be distinguished.

   Inserted in *The Song of Los*, copy E, *q.v.* for history. Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

2. Colour-printed. No watermark. Numbered 3 by Blake. Size: 32·2 × 24·2 cm.

   Sold from an anonymous source at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 (lot 227, Quaritch, £15. 10*s*.). Acquired by William A. White, and sold to Rosenbach in 1929 with other Blake items. Then purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald and now in that collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

   Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 39; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 83.

3. Very carefully coloured. Sold with the Linnell Collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 177, Martin, £90). In the Melbourne Art Galley.

4. Colour-printed, with three framing lines. Size 28 × 23 cm. Now in the Tate Gallery. Framed and glazed.

5. Colour printed, with three framing lines. Size 34 × 25 cm. Now in the Tate Gallery. Framed and glazed.

6. Colour-printed. No watermark. Numbered 5 by Blake. Size: 32·2 × 24·1 cm.

   Sold at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 as 'A Coloured Print, presumably John the Baptist preaching Repentance' (lot 228, Quaritch, £26. 10*s*.). Acquired by William

A. White, and sold to Rosenbach in 1929 with other Blake items. Then purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald and now in that collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 82.

8. Colour-printed, over blind impression of text, impressed clearly enough on the paper to be deciphered. No watermark. Numbered 9 by Blake. Size: 21·3 × 24 cm.

Sold at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 (lot 223, Osmaston, £42). Then in the possession of F. P. Osmaston, and sold for his widow at Sotheby's, 14 November 1928 (lot 692, G. Wells, £170). Acquired by Anton G. Hardy, and sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 14 January 1942 (lot 20, Rosenbach, $575). Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

a From *Urizen*, p. 22; not represented in copy A. Watermark 1794. Colour-printed, and magnificently finished in water-colours. Unnumbered, but surrounded with framing lines, and inscribed below by Blake:

'Frozen doors to mock
The World: while they within torments uplock.'

Size: 26·2 × 18·5 cm.

Formerly in the Buxton Forman collection, and sold as an original water-colour drawing at Anderson's, 15 March 1920 (lot 66, Rosenbach, $1060). Then in the possession of A. Edward Newton, and sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 16 April 1941 (lot 132, private, $300). Now in the possession of Joseph Holland, of New York.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 82.

PLATE 6

THE | SONG of | LOS | Lambeth Printed by W Blake 1795.

Colophon: The SONG of LOS is Ended. | Urizen Wept.

DESCRIPTION

Frontispiece, title, 2 pls., *Africa*, 2 pls., *Asia*, 2 pls., full-page illustrations, 2 pls. = 8 plates, about 24 × 17 cm. (title and illustrations), or 22 × 14 cm. (text), relief etching, coloured with opaque pigment.

CONTENTS

1. Frontispiece. A man draped from the waist, and seen from behind, kneels facing away at a stone altar before a mottled sun.

2. Title-page. *The Song*, etc. Below, before a background of hills, an old man (Adam) with a flowing beard reclines on the ground and gazes upwards, his left hand resting on a skull.

3. *Africa.* Begins: *I will sing you a song of Los.* A serpent coils among the letters of the heading; various insects fly about. Near the top, a child (Har) with knees drawn up sleeps with his ram.

4. Begins: *These were the Churches.* Near the top, a flying figure with bat's wings. Below, Har and Heva clasping one another run from left to right.

5. Full-page illustration. Under a dark sky with stars, the King of Fairies crowned and holding a sceptre sits on one lily, while to his right on another his Queen lies stretched out and asleep. (Cf. the drawing by Robert Blake on p. 13 of the Notebook (Rossetti MS.), and two water-colour versions of a similar subject, described as 'Oberon and Titania', one formerly in the collection of Philip Hofer, the other in the Folger Shakespeare Library.)

6. *Asia.* Begins: *The Kings of Asia heard.* Below the heading in the mouth of a cave a nude man kneels supporting an inanimate female Emanation. Below, at the right-hand margin, a nude man crouches on one knee with his head hidden in his arms.

7. Begins: *To cut off the bread from the city.* At the right-hand margin, near the top, a nude figure with bent arms and legs falls headlong; to the left are boughs of trees.

8. Full-page illustration. The giant Los kneels on a cloud his hands resting on a hammer, and gazes on a huge crimson sun below him.

NOTE

The Song of Los, as the title-page states, belongs to the year 1795, and follows *Urizen* both in content and date of completion. It gives the history of man from the beginning of civilization to the American Revolution, connecting the prehistoric eons of eternity, described in *Urizen* and later in *Ahania*, with the modern and future chronicles of *America* and *Europe*. After the fall of Adam mankind is given religion and philosophy in various forms by Urizen through the children of Los; in other words, repressive laws, sugar-coated by romantic

mythologies, are imposed upon the human race. The joys of the imagination, poetry and painting—Har and Heva—flee; war and lust, energies misdirected by hypocritical dogma, flourish. Man thus sorrows in an unhappy world, until the revolutionary Orc shall rise to usher in the Last Judgement and loose him from the bonds of materialism and mortality.

Only five copies of *The Song of Los* are known, and they are now uniform in contents. All are of folio size, measuring about 35 × 25 cm., and consist of eight plates, printed on one side of the leaves only. The plates are printed in shades of green, and the designs are heavily and rather sombrely colour-printed with some careful touching up in opaque pigments and water-colours. They would all seem to have been finished at the same time, about 1795, and Blake did not apparently later reissue the book, nor advertise it for sale.

The order of the plates of text does not vary, but the position of the full-page designs is not always the same. In copy E, the only one with any leaves foliated by Blake, three full-page plates formerly considered to be part of *A Large Book of Designs* (copy B, pls. 2, 6 and 8) were originally included, although their significance with respect to the text has not been elucidated. In none of the copies is a watermark visible. The first five lines of the text, in a curious return to Blake's earliest form, are etched in roman letters; the rest is in italic. Thomas Butt's copy (D) is the only one whose early history is known.

Copies

A 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in olive-green. Heavily colour-printed with opaque pigments. Arranged as above. Size: 34·5 × 25 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e.

Purchased from Messrs Evans in 1856, and now in the British Museum Print Room. *Exhib.*: B.F.A.C. 1927, no. 84.

B 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown-green. Richly colour-printed, some bright water-colour washes added. Six of the leaves numbered by Blake, his numbering in brackets, as follows: 2 (2), 4 (6), 5 (7), 6 (8), 7 (10), 8 (11); included in this series originally as Blake's nos. 3, 5 and 9 were pls. 2, 6, and 8 of *The Large Book of Designs* (copy B). Size: 32·3 × 24·2 cm. Loose, in cloth folder.

This copy was formerly bound up with *America*, copy B, and other designs, but the volume was broken up and this book sold at Hodgson's, 14 January 1904 (lot 224, Quaritch, £144). Then acquired by William A. White, and sold to Rosenbach with other Blake items in 1929. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 30; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 86.

C 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in olive-green. Colour-printed in opaque pigments, some water-colour washes added. Arrangement: 1, 8, 2–4, 6, 7, 5. Size: 36 × 25 cm. Bound in old half red morocco, together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy H, and *Europe*, copy G.

For history, see *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy H. Now in the possession of Mrs William Emerson of Cambridge, Mass.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 31.

D 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in olive-green. Thickly colour-printed with opaque pigments. Arranged as above. Size: 36·5 × 25·5 cm. Bound in yellow morocco, together with *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy B, and *America*, copy F.

For history, see *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, copy B. Formerly in the British Museum Reading Room. Transferred in 1953 to the Print Room.

E 8 plates on 8 leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown-green. Thickly colour-printed with opaque pigments. Arrangement: 1, 2, 3, 8, 4, 6, 5, 7; the leaves were unbound in 1903, so this arrangement is arbitrary; after that time a coloured copy of the design known as 'Glad Day', *A Large Book of Designs*, copy B, pl. 1, was added at the end. Size: 36 × 26 cm. Bound in red levant morocco, gilt, by Riviere.

Formerly in the collection of the Earl of Crewe, and sold by him at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 9, Sabin, £174), then without 'Glad Day'. Acquired then by Robert T. V. Halsey, and now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: In *Works by William Blake*, 1876; William Muir, 1890, coloured (copy A); EY, iii, reduced and without pls. 1 and 8.

THE | BOOK of | AHANIA | LAMBETH | Printed by W Blake 1795.

Description

Frontispiece, Title, 2 pls., *Ahania*, chs. i–v, 4 pls. = 6 plates, about 13·5 × 7·5 cm., ordinary etching; the text finely etched in double columns; the designs coloured.

Contents

Frontispiece: Urizen sits with his head bowed down to his knees; Ahania, a nude woman, kneels between his legs and looks up toward the right.

1. Title-page. *The Book*, etc. Below, the shadowy form of Ahania with flying hair and drapery floats between clouds, her head twisted round and her arms outstretched (cf. *Urizen*, pl. 13).

2. *Ahania*, *Chap: Ist*, 1–9. Begins: *Fuzon on a chariot iron-wing'd.* No decoration.

3. *Chap: II:^{d}*, 1–10, and *Chap: III:*, 1–4. Begins: *But the forehead of Urizen gathering.* No decoration.

4. [*Chap: III*], [4]–6, *Chap: IV:* 1–10, and *Chap: V*, 1–5. Begins: *Of iron, from the dismal shade.* No decoration.

5. [*Chap: V*] [5]–14. Begins: *But I wander on the rocks.* Tailpiece, the fallen Urizen (or Albion), a giant figure, lies crushed among rocks.

Note

Blake planned a *First* and *Second Book of Urizen*, but for some reason when he came to put out the continuation of his myth, carrying it on from prehistoric to Biblical times, he called it *Ahania*. The history, heavily obscured by symbols, tells of the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, the imposition of the Mosaic code, their settlement in Asia, and the crucifixion of Jesus. The myth tells of the revolt of Fuzon-Passion (later called Luvah) against his father, Urizen-Reason. After Fuzon blasts Urizen in the loins, the latter casts out his Emanation, Ahania-Pleasure. In a moment of supposed triumph Fuzon is struck by the stone of the Decalogue, and he is crucified on the tree of religion. Urizen then exiles Ahania, who in hiding becomes Sin, and the book ends with the lovely, poetical plaint of Ahania.

Ahania is a short book, consisting of only a frontispiece and five plates, and with *The Book of Los* the only work executed by Blake by the ordinary process of intaglio etching. The text is in italic letter, rather more cursive than that of the relief-etched books. The designs are colour-printed. Only one copy of the book is known, from which the frontispiece became separated, but a second example of that plate is now with the book. In addition, there are a few scattered plates. Blake was apparently not satisfied with either his myth of Fuzon or the results of intaglio etching, so he never reissued the work, nor advertised it for sale.

The Book of Ahania

COPIES

A 6 plates on 6 leaves. No watermark. Printed in dark brown. Designs, colour-printed, the title-page in blue and grey alone. The frontispiece was lacking, but another copy of the missing plate, somewhat cut down, has been supplied from another source. Size: 29 × 23·4 cm. Unbound, g.e., in half blue morocco case.

Sold at Sotheby's in 1855 (£1. 13*s*.), and subsequently acquired by Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton. Resold by his son, the Earl of Crewe, at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 7, Quaritch, £103). Acquired by William A. White, whose signature, dated 20 April 1903, is on a fly-leaf. Sold to Rosenbach with other Blake items in 1929, and now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The frontispiece was sold at Sotheby's, 11 May 1895 (lot 20, R. Ward, £2. 6*s*.). This may be the same one which was obtained from a friend of Blake by Judge Bewley, and later belonged to Dr Paul Carton, of Dublin. Sold at Sotheby's, 11 December 1935 (lot 622, Ulysses, £34), and acquired for and added to the copy in the Rosenwald Collection.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 29 (without frontispiece); Philadelphia, 1939, no. 87 (with frontispiece).

B* Scattered plates only.

a Frontispiece. No watermark. Colour-printed. Size: 29 × 23·4 cm. Unbound; the stitch-holes at the right-hand border match those of copy A showing it originally belonged with it.

Separated from the book when the Crewe collection was sold in 1903, being included in a separate lot of miscellaneous engravings. Then bought by E. J. Shaw, and resold with his collection at Sotheby's, 29 July 1925 (lot 162, Keynes, £55). Now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

Exhib.: B.F.A.C. 1927, no. 85.

Reproduction: Mona Wilson, *Life of Blake*, 1927, pl. 8.

b Title (twice) and pl. 3 on three leaves. No watermark. Printed in brown. The second impression of the title colour-printed. Size: 13·4 to 14·7 × 9·6 to 10·7 cm. Bound in blue levant morocco.

These were probably in the same volume of Blakiana as the three proofs (a–c) of *America*; for history, *q.v.* When the volume was broken up by George C. Smith, Jr., these plates were bound up together. Sold with his library at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 37, Gannon, $140). Acquired by Chauncey B. Tinker, and given by him to Yale University Library, New Haven.

c Pl. 4. No watermark. Uncoloured. Size: 20·7 × 16·7 cm. Matted.

Part of a collection of miscellaneous Blake items bound up together with the proofs of *Thel*; for history, *q.v.* Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: EY, iii; Griggs, 1892, coloured.

THE | BOOK of | LOS | LAMBETH | Printed by W Blake 1795

Colophon: The end of the | Book of LOS

DESCRIPTION

Frontispiece, title, 2 pls., *Los*, ch. I–III, 3 pls. = 5 plates, about 13·5 × 10 cm., ordinary etching; the text finely etched in double columns; the designs coloured.

CONTENTS

1. Frontispiece. Eno, a woman with long, white hair, crouches on a low stone slab, her knees drawn up to her chin; dark rocks loom behind her.

2. Title-page. *The Book*, etc. Near the bottom, Los, a nude man, seen from behind, sits huddled in a cave.

3. *Los. Chap. I*, 1–9. Begins: *Eno aged Mother.* In the central letter of the heading, Urizen holds open the Book of Law; round him is the Net of Religion which spreads out below ensnaring the recumbent figures of a youth and a maiden.

4. [*Chap. I*], [9]–10, *Chap. II*, 1–9, and *Chap. III*, 1–4. Begins: *Darkness round Los: heat was not.* No decoration.

5. [*Chap. III*], [4]–6, and *Chap. IV*, 1–9. Begins: *An immense Fibrous Form, stretching out.* Tailpiece, Los kneels on a cloud with outstretched arms gazing down at the sun.

NOTE

The Book of Los retells the history of the agony of the primeval eternal Los, covering the same prehistoric period as *The Book of Urizen*. Los, the Poetic Spirit, after the original split of eternity finds himself subject to the power of Urizen-Reason. He struggles against him, breaks through into the void of error, and begins to assume form and shape. He creates light in the void and then a sun as the centre of the system, to which he binds Urizen. This torture forces Urizen to take shape, and the process of creation is begun with the materialization of earth and man. The myth is a restatement of Blake's belief that the first step in overcoming error is to define it; here poetic imagination forces a definition of reason.

Like *The Book of Ahania* this small volume is etched in intaglio, and like it exists in only a single copy. In addition there is one plate from the book in the Morgan Library. The same dissatisfaction with content and format must have existed, and after printing off possibly a proof or two and one complete copy Blake discarded *The Book of Los*. It consists of a frontispiece, title-page and three plates, and is the shortest of the prophetic books. The title-page is dated 1795, and as would be expected in this year of experimentation the designs are colour-printed. Blake never mentioned it in his writings or advertisements.

The Book of Los

COPIES

A 5 plates on 5 leaves. No watermark. Printed in black. Designs colour-printed. Size: 29·5 × 24·5 cm. Bound in half morocco.

Acquired in 1866 by the British Museum Reading Room. Transferred in 1953 to the Print Room.

B* 1 plate on 1 leaf. No watermark. Printed in black. Pl. 4 only. Size: 20·2 × 15·8 cm. Matted, unbound.

Part of a collection of miscellaneous Blake items bound together with the proofs of *Thel*; for history *q.v.* Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION: EY, iii.

MILTON a Poem | in [1]2 Books | The Author | & Printer W Blake | 1804 | To Justify the Ways of God to Men.

DESCRIPTION

Title, 1 pl., *Preface* (in copies A and B only), 1 pl., *Book the First*, 22 pls., *Book the Second*, 13 pls., full-page illustrations, 8 pls., additional plates, 5 pls. (in copy C) or 6 pls. (in copy D) = 45, 49 or 50 plates, about 16 × 11 cm., relief etching, painted with water-colours.

CONTENTS

1. Title-page. *Milton*, etc., as above. The words are arranged round a central figure, that of Milton as a naked youth seen from behind, stepping towards a pillar of smoke with his right hand outstretched and his face turned slightly to the right.

2. *Preface*. Begins: *The Stolen and Perverted Writings of Homer*. Below, four stanzas of four lines each, beginning: *And did those feet in ancient time*. At the bottom, a two-line text from Numbers, xi. 29.

3. *Milton* | *Book the First*. Begins: *Daughters of Beulah!* Above the heading, a large star (the symbol of Milton) to the right sheds its rays on two reclining figures below, a man among corn and a woman among grapes.

4. Begins: *From Golgonooza the spiritual Four fold London eternal*. Near the bottom, the tiny figure of a traveller on horseback passes through a colossal Druidic archway of three stones, and is confronted by a huge balanced boulder; stars and a young moon are in the sky (cf. *Jerusalem*, pl. 70).

5. Begins: *By Enitharmons Looms, & Spun beneath the Spindle of Tirzah*. At the right and between lines, a few slight figures, birds and tendrils.

6. Begins: *Mean while wept Satan before Los, accusing Palamabron*. Slight decorations at right, two tendrils at bottom.

7. Begins: *And all Eden descended into Palamabrons tent*. Slight figures at right.

8. Full-page illustration. To the right, Orc, a naked man in flames, his body contorted, stands on a pedestal; Los and Enitharmon stand to the left gazing at him in attitudes of horror.

9. Begins: *He set his face against Jerusalem*. Tiny figures at the right and tendrils across between lines.

10. Begins: *For her light is terrible to me*. To right, tiny nudes fly.

11. Begins: *. . . Sick Couch bears the dark shades of Eternal Death*. Tiny figures fly on the right, and tendrils extend between lines.

12. Begins: *According to the inspiration of the Poetic Genius*. Near the top, Cain flees to the right from the corpse of Abel under a tree (cf. *The Ghost of Abel*).

13. Full-page illustration. Milton, a naked figure with a nimbus, stands with outstretched arms on a dark globe, behind which is seen the radiant edge of the setting sun; in his right hand he holds a girdle; from his left a cloak hangs.

14. Begins: *As when a man dreams, he reflects not that his body sleeps.* Near the bottom, Milton falls backwards as a star descends on his left foot (cf. pl. 29); to the right a woman turns away; a stone wall is between them; to the right from top to bottom are a woman and a child and two separate bending figures.

15. Full-page illustration. In the upper part, a youth and four maidens, the liberated senses, play upon musical instruments walking across the crest of a hill; below, Blake, as a nude youth, steps up with his left foot to grasp the neck of Urizen, who sits holding the tables of the Law with either hand. Inscribed below: *To Annihilate the Self-hood of Deceit & False Forgiveness.*

16. Begins: *In the three females whom his wives, & those three whom his daughters.* Above, Milton's three wives sit on a couch to the right and turn their faces from the three daughters who dance before them to the left. Below, Los, as a tree-man, and Urizen, whose head emerges from the earth, oppose the path of Milton striding from the left.

17. Begins: *And he also darkend his brows.* Small figures at the right.

18. Begins: *Two yet but one: each in the other sweet reflected.* Small figures at the right.

19. Begins: *And down descended into Udan-Adan.* Small figures at the right.

20. Begins: *Tho driven away with the Seven Starry Ones.* Small figures at the right.

21. Full-page illustration. Blake, kneeling, turns backwards to see Los emerging from a fiery sun.

22. Begins: *Can you have greater Miracles than these?* Small figures at the right.

23. Begins: *Of Palamabrons Harrow, and of Rintrahs wrath & fury.* Five figures at the right.

24. Begins: *But the Wine-press of Los is eastward of Golgonooza.* Across the middle is a row of insects and reptiles.

25. Begins: *Loud shout the Sons of Luvah, at the Wine-presses.* Small figures and birds at the right.

26. Begins: *These are the Sons of Los, and these the Labourers of the Vintage.* Rows of Albion's mountains extend across the plate near the top and at the bottom.

27. Begins: *Some Sons of Los surround the Passions with porches of iron & silver.* Some birds at the right; a tendril across the plate two-thirds of the way down.

28. Begins: *For in this Period the Poets Work is Done.* At the bottom: *End of the First Book.* Four figures in top half at right.

29. Full-page illustration. Blake, as a naked youth, facing to the right falls backwards with arms outstretched as a star descends towards his left foot (cf. pl. 14); behind him are three steps; above him is the word *WILLIAM.*

30. *Milton | Book the Second.* Begins: *There is a place where Contrarieties are equally True.* Below the heading two figures stand with arms upraised to either side where other floating figures ascend and descend. At the top in reversed writing: *How wide the Gulf & Unpassable! between Simplicity & Insipidity*; and below *Milton*, also reversed: *Contraries are Positives. A Negative is not a Contrary.*

31. Begins: *Into this pleasant Shadow all the weak & weary.* Slight decoration at right.

32. Begins: *And the Divine Voice was heard in the Songs of Beulah.* Below, a fiery diagram of *Miltons Track* through the Four Zoas, with the inscriptions, *Adam* at the top

and *Satan* at the bottom of an egg-shaped zone (the Mundane Egg) in the centre, and in circles *Urthona* to the north, *Luvah* to the east, *Urizen* to the south, and *Tharmas* to the north.

33. Full-page illustration. Similar to pl. 29, but reversed; Blake, facing to the left, falls backward as a star descends towards his right foot; behind him are four steps; above him the word *ROBERT*.

34. Begins: *And all the Songs of Beulah sounded comfortable notes.*

35. Begins: *. . . Are here frozen to unexpansive deadly destroying terrors.*

36. Begins: *When on the highest lift of his light pinions he arrives.* Below, a sketch of a house and garden with trees to the right, inscribed: *Blakes Cottage | at Felpham*; Blake walks in his garden; and Ololon with flowing robes descends from the sky towards him.

37. Begins: *The Virgin answerd. Knowest thou of Milton.*

38. Full-page illustration. Milton lies by the side of a woman, both nude, on a rock at the foot of which laps the Sea of Time and Space; his head is thrown back to watch the descent of the Eagle of Genius and his right arm hangs down over the side of the rock; the woman's head is to the side and one arm lies across his chest.

39. Begins: *And the Forty-eight Starry Regions are Cities of the Levites.* Slight tendrils at right.

40. Begins: *Till All Things become One Great Satan in Holiness.* Slight decorations at the right.

41. Full-page illustration. Milton, a naked man with a nimbus, steps across a stream; Ololon, a limp, draped figure, kneels at his feet and rests one hand on his shoulder.

42. Begins: *Before Ololon Milton stood & percievd the Eternal Form.* Below, a naked man behind a tree in a forest hides crouching from a two-headed serpent.

43. Begins: *To bathe in the waters of Life: to wash off the Not Human.* Above, six figures float with hands joined above their heads (cf. *Job*, pl. 13).

44. Begins: *. . . Becomes a Womb? & is this the Death Couch of Albion.* Below, Oothoon, a naked woman, floats with hands extended from which rain drops on a wheat field; small figures at right.

45. Text: *To go forth to the Great Harvest & Vintage | of the Nations. | Finis.* Below, between two many-winged seraphim facing inwards, the Soul, a naked woman, lifts up her hands, holding a cloak which hangs behind her.

Additional plates found in copies C and D:

a. Begins: *Beneath the Plow of Rintrah & the Harrow of the Almighty.* Between lines of text, Druidic ruins; below, before three Druidic arches on a hill are four women, one crouches at the extreme left, before her stands another with spindle and distaff, on a boulder in the centre a third also crouches, and at the right the fourth, also with spindle and distaff, stands facing away towards more Druidic stones in the background.

b. Begins: *By Enitharmons Looms when Albion was slain upon his Mountains.* Three crouching nudes to the right, below which are tendrils.

c. Begins: *Then Los & Enitharman* [sic] *knew that Satan is Urizen.* Below, before a stone doorway Enitharmon, an old woman, runs with outstretched arms towards the right.

d. Begins: *And Tharmas Demon of the Waters.* Small figures and slight decorations at right.

e. Begins: *And Milton oft sat up on the Couch of Death.* Tendrils at right and between lines; at the right one-third of the way down the inscription *as multitudes Vox Populi.*

f. Begins: *Palamabron with the fiery Harrow in morning returning.* Below in left corner, a naked figure leaning backwards in flames.

NOTE

Blake began to write *Milton* while he was living at Felpham under the patronage of William Hayley. He mentioned it in letters written to Butts in April and July 1803 which show that the greater part was composed while he was actually at Felpham, but references in the text itself to events which took place later show that additions were made to the poem after his return to London in the latter part of 1803. The title-page is dated 1804, but this probably is the date at which the etching of the plates was begun, since none of the four copies known can have been printed before 1808, the date found in the watermarks of three of them. Furthermore, a reference to the poem in connexion with the first attack made upon him in the *Examiner*, which occurs in the *Public Address*, proves that the book was not issued until after August 1808.

When it is realized what Hayley meant to Blake, it can be understood why *Milton* was written, and what were the 'dark Satanic Mills' which aroused Blake to such poetic fury. To prevent Blake from wasting time, according to Hayley's standards, in writing mystic verse which nobody would read and painting fantastic frescoes which nobody would buy, Hayley forced upon him so much other employment which was lucrative that Blake had no time to devote to his own works. This, to Blake, epitomized the woes of the world. Error—Satan—Hayley, smug in assurance of its own truth and righteousness, held poetic inspiration in intellectual bondage. Hayley was acclaimed a great poet; Blake was derided. The fury that Blake felt at such injustice and the ignominy of his own position of subservience seethed over into the vitriolic epigrams in his Notebook, and into this poem, the story of the ultimate victory of truth over error. The parable, recited in eternity, is an account of the conflict between Satan and Palamabron. It is an allegory of perverted art against true art, of an unappreciative and uncomprehending world, crystallized in Hayley, against Blake.

With this as an introduction Blake set out on his main theme. Milton, 'a true Poet, and of the Devil's party' (that is, he sided with imagination against dogma), heard the parable from a heavenly bard and came to the realization that he had failed in his mission as a prophet on earth. 'I saw Milton in imagination,' Blake later told Crabb Robinson, 'and he told me to beware of being misled by his *Paradise Lost*.' Milton had been deluded by Puritanism and its concomitant errors, which are symbolized by the poet's sixfold emanation, his three wives and three daughters, with whom he had had an unhappy relationship. To right these wrongs Milton comes down to earth and enters into Blake. By self-annihilation, by achieving perfect unity with Ololon, his true other self, the essence of truth, Milton turns himself into the perfect man, Jesus, the saviour of the world. Human vision is unable to look upon the final union of God and man, and so Blake ends his poem by bringing himself back to his mundane, natural surroundings at Felpham. On this framework he built a long, confused

poem, referring in recognizable passages to some of the events in *America*, *Urizen*, and *Vala, or The Four Zoas*, but preparing even more obviously for the epic of *Jerusalem*.

The four copies of *Milton* described below are all quarto volumes, measuring about 24 × 17 cm. Two of them (A and B) contain forty-five plates printed on the same number of leaves, and are painted with water-colour washes, gold being added in the second. The third copy (C) is of different constitution; Blake has omitted the Preface (pl. 2), but has inserted five additional plates (numbered a–e above), so that the book contains in all forty-nine plates. It is printed and coloured in a manner similar to copy B. The fourth copy (D) again omits pl. 2, but contains the five added plates, as well as a sixth (pl. f), bringing the total number to fifty. It was probably this copy that Blake offered in 1818 to Dawson Turner as: 'Milton. 50 prints, quarto £10 10 0.' It is on paper with a watermark, dated 1815, printed in bright red and coloured with great magnificence. This copy only came to light again in 1923 when it was first sold at auction. Copy B, from the collection of William Beckford, and copy C, originally Thomas Butts's, are the only ones with old provenances. It is stated in Bohn's catalogue, 1843, without further evidence, that *Milton* was commissioned by James Vine, of Puckster, Isle of Wight, a Russian merchant, who is also said to have been one of Blake's principal patrons, but whose only recorded connexion with Blake is his purchase of a copy of *The Book of Job*, listed in Linnell's MS. accounts.

The additional plates found in copies C and D are evidence of Blake's continuing process of reworking. Textually they develop and expand the Satan-Palamabron myth which introduces the work, and which Blake thought was too sketchy as originally written and too abrupt in its ending. They are variously arranged in the two copies, but in both the last two words on pl. 4 and the first line on pl. 5 have been erased, suggesting that Blake intended one of the additional plates, probably pl. a, to go between them. Keynes in the Nonesuch edition has adopted the textual order of copy D, as representing Blake's final version.

The title-page reads: *Milton a Poem in 12 Books*, and this may have been Blake's original intention. The figure 1 is clearly visible in copies B and D, although it has been over-painted in the other copies to such an extent that it has formerly been assumed that the numeral was part of the decoration, and that the reading was *2 Books* in accordance with the fact that the poem is divided into two books only. It should further be noted that pls. 1, 13, 38 and 45 are examples of white-line engraving, a technique in which Blake cut his lines into the plate and printed it by his usual method, so that the outlines appear white against a solid dark ground. This same method was used in the pewter plate 'The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour', and in many of the finest plates of *Jerusalem*.

Copies

A 45 plates on 45 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1808. Printed in black. Delicately painted with water-colours. Foliated by Blake 1–45. Arranged as above, but without pls. a–f. Size: 24 × 18 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e.
Bought from Francis Palgrave in 1859 for the British Museum Print Room.

B 45 plates on 45 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1808, on ten leaves. Printed in black. Lightly painted with water-colours and touched with some dull gold; pink, yellow and

Beneath the Plow of Rintrah & the Harrow of the Almighty
In the hands of Palamabron. Where the Starry Mills of Satan
Are built beneath the Earth & Waters of the Mundane Shell
Here the Three Classes of Men take their Sexual texture Woven
The Sexual is Threefold: the Human is Fourfold

If you account it Wisdom when you are angry to be silent and
Not to shew it: I do not account that Wisdom but Folly
Every Mans Wisdom is peculiar to his own Individuality
O Satan my youngest born art thou not Prince of the Starry Hosts
And of the Wheels of Heaven, to turn the Mills day & night
Art thou not Newtons Pantocrator weaving the Woof of Locke
To Mortals thy Mills seem every thing & the Harrow of Shaddai
A scheme of Human conduct invisible & incomprehensible
Get to thy Labours at the Mills & leave me to my wrath

Satan was going to reply, but Los rolld his loud thunders.
Anger me not, thou canst not drive the Harrow in pitys paths
Thy Work is Eternal Death, with Mills & Ovens & Cauldrons.
Trouble me no more, thou canst not have Eternal Life

So Los spoke! Satan trembling obeyd, weeping along the way.
Mark well my words, they are of your eternal Salvation

Between South Molton Street & Stratford Place: Calvarys foot
Where the Victims were preparing for Sacrifice their Cherubim
Around their loins pourd forth their arrows & their bosoms beam
With all colours of precious stones, & their inmost palaces
Resounded with preparation of Animals wild & tame
(Mark well my words! Corporeal Friends
are Spiritual Enemies)
Mocking Druidical Mathematical
Proportion of Length Breadth Height
Displaying Naked Beauty, with Flute &
Harp & Song:

blue tints predominating. Foliated by Blake 1–45. Arranged as above, but without pls. a–f. Size: 23·4 × 16·6 cm. Bound in calf, in protective cover.

Probably the copy from the collection of Thomas Butts, sold at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot, 53, Toovey, £9). Afterwards in the library of Robert Hoe, and sold with the first part of his collection, Anderson's, 23 April 1911 (lot 393, Huntington, $9000). Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 34.

C 49 plates on 49 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1808, on six leaves. Printed in black. Painted with water-colours and some gold. Title-page unnumbered, but the remaining leaves foliated by Blake 1–8, 8*, 9–32, 32*, 33–46. Arrangement: 1, 3, 5, a, 4, b, 6–8, c, 9–16, d, 17–20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 24, 27–32, e, 33–42, 21, 43–45. Without pls. 2 and f. The last two words, 'and woven', on pl. 4, and the first line on pl. 5 have been erased. Size: 23·5 × 16 cm. Bound in blue morocco, g.e., by J. Mackenzie.

The Beckford copy, sold at the Hamilton Palace sale at Sotheby's, 4 July 1882 (lot 952, Quaritch, £230). Now in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.

D 50 plates on 50 leaves. Watermark RUSE & TURNERS 1815, on eleven leaves. Printed in various shades of red, with some black printing on pls. 1, 8, c, 13, 15, 29, 32, 33, 38, 21 and 44. Magnificently painted with water-colours, opaque pigments and gold, most of the designs outlined in ink. Numbered by Blake 1–50. Arrangement: 1, 3, b, a, f, 4–8, c, 9–16, d, 17–20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 24, 27–31, e, 32–42, 21, 43–45. Without pl. 2. The last words, 'and woven', on pl. 4 and the first line on pl. 5 have been erased. Size: 27·5 × 21·5 cm. Bound in old half russia, marbled edges, together with *Thel*, copy O.

This was probably the copy recorded by Lowndes as '50 engraved pages coloured by the artist, 4to, 1804. Bohn's Cat. 10*l.* 10*s.*' Its early history is not known, but it was later in the library of Godfrey Windus, of Tottenham Green. His library was sold at Sotheby's on 23–6 March 1868, but no works by Blake were then included. The *Milton* was afterwards in the possession of Windus's descendants, and was sold by the heirs of his grandson, the late Rev. G. P. de Putron, of Guernsey, at Sotheby's, 11 December 1923 (lot 252, Pickering, £3400). Then acquired by Frank B. Bemis, of Boston, and sold after his death by Rosenbach in 1939. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 112.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: William Muir, coloured, 1886 (copy A); EY, iii, reduced; pls. 1, 45, f, coloured, *The Club of Odd Volumes*, Boston, 1925, with commentary by S. Foster Damon.

JERUSALEM | The | Emanation of | The Giant | Albion | 1804 | Printed by W. Blake Sth Molton S^{t}.

Colophon: The End of the Song | of Jerusalem.

DESCRIPTION

Frontispiece, title 2 pls., text, 94 pls., full-page illustrations, 4 pls. = 100 plates, about 22 × 16 cm., relief etching, usually uncoloured.

CONTENTS

1. Frontispiece. Los entering the bosom of Albion. A man clad in hat and robe reaching to his knees, with a fiery globe in his right hand, is going through a stone doorway above and around which are inscriptions. A trial proof in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes has the inscriptions intact, the lettering being picked out in black. In all completed copies the lettering has been erased, although some of it is still legible in the copies printed posthumously. Text begins: *There is a Void outside of Existence.*

2. Title-page. *Jerusalem*, etc. The imprint below is in incised lettering. Five winged figures representing different aspects of Jerusalem decorate the plate. In the lowest one she lies stretched out supine with the stars and other celestial bodies on her wings. Tiny insects and birds flit among the lettering.

3. *To the Public.* The words *SHEEP* and *GOATS* in incised lettering at the top corners. Begins: *After my three years slumber.* Several lines and separate words have been erased from the plate. Near the left margin in the centre is a female figure with spiky wings similar to those of the figure on the left-hand side of the title-page.

4. *Jerusalem: Chap:* 1. Begins: *Of the Sleep of Ulro!* Inscribed at the top '*Μονος ο Ιησους*', between the horns of a crescent moon. Below the heading, a crouching woman enveloped in a cloak, stretches her hands towards the heads of two men on either side; naked figures mount upwards on the left. Line 23 and the last word of line 15 have been erased.

5. Begins: *The banks of the Thames are clouded.* Female figures extend up the right-hand margin.

6. Begins: *His Sceptre driv'n by the Starry Wheels of Albions sons.* Below, the naked figure of Los leaning on his hammer and anvil is gazing up at a winged spectre which floats above him.

7. Begins: *Was living: panting like a frighted wolf.* Naked figures and scrolls extend up the right-hand margin.

8. Begins: *Rose up against me thundering.* Below, a naked woman is harnessed by straps covering her breasts and genitals to a huge globe with a dark centre and bright circumference, which forms a crescent below.

9. Begins: . . . *Condens'd his Emanations.* Near the top, a shepherd piping to sheep and beasts of prey; in the centre, a woman feeding a serpent; below, four women weeping beside the naked body of a man.

10. Begins: . . . *Into the Furnaces & into the valley of the Anvils of Death.* No decoration.

11. Begins: . . . *To labours mighty, with vast strength.* Above, a figure, half woman, half swan, kneeling on the surface of a lake; below, a floating figure in water, with narrow, spiky fins on the arms and legs.

12. Begins: *Why wilt thou give to her a Body.* Three figures extend up the right-hand margin. The middle one is measuring a globe of the world with compasses, and the lowest one reaches an arm over its surface.

13. Begins: *And that toward Eden, four.* Moths and a kneeling figure along the right-hand margin.

14. Begins: . . . *One hair nor particle of dust.* Below, a man lies asleep, and a small female figure with butterfly wings floats above him; a rainbow arches over them. There are stars and a moon within the arch of the rainbow, and there are stars and planets on the right-hand margin of the plate.

15. Begins: *And Hand & Hyle rooted into Jerusalem.* Below, a naked man running with outstretched arms; a smaller figure, enveloped by branching fibres, lies in his path.

16. Begins: *Hampstead Highgate Finchley Hendon.* No decoration.

17. Begins: *His Spectre divides & Los in fury compells it to divide.* Leaves and tendrils decorate the right-hand margin.

18. Begins: *From every-one of the Four Regions.* Near the top, two winged figures, one with roses, the other with lilies in his hair; from their right hands proceed two smaller figures, which meet and kiss in the centre. Crescent moons, each with a mast and sail, float above them.

19. Begins: *His Children exil'd from his breast.* Below, a naked giant lying full-length on the ground, with women weeping at his head and feet; naked figures extend up the right-hand margin and along the top.

20. Begins: *But when they saw Albion fall'n.* Figures dragging flaming stars extend across the plate above and below the centre. Two figures, extended horizontally, meet at the top. Originally numbered 16 on plate.

21. Begins: *O Vala! O Jerusalem! do you delight in my groans.* Below, a man scourging three naked women.

22. Begins: *Albion thy fear has made me tremble.* Above, a naked woman and an angel; below, four cherubim floating above three huge cogwheels ('wheels of war').

23. Begins: *Jerusalem! Jerusalem! deluding shadow of Albion!* Near the top, a recumbent winged female figure with intestines floating like banners on either side above large flowers; below the centre, and at the bottom, contorted figures crouching among rocks and roots.

24. Begins: *What have I said? What have I done?* At the top, a crescent moon with a winged figure in its arc floating on dark waves. Eleven lines lower down figures extend across the page.

25. Begins: *And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah.* Below, a naked man, with the sun, moon and stars on his limbs, is kneeling with his arms behind him, and his head

thrust back so that it rests on the thighs of a nude woman, who gazes into his eyes. A second woman winds into a ball a cord attached to his navel. A third floats with outstretched arms over the group.

26. Full-page illustration. On the left, a naked man in flames with outstretched arms; on the right, a robed figure in an attitude of astonishment. The names *Hand* and *Jerusalem* are inscribed below the figures. Two lines of text are inscribed in capital letters at the sides and in the middle.

27. *To the Jews.* Begins: *Jerusalem the Emanation of the Giant Albion.* The greater part of the plate is occupied by twenty-two stanzas of four lines each in two columns beginning: *The fields from Islington to Marybone.*

28. *Jerusalem, Chap:* 2. Begins: *Every ornament of perfection.* Above, two nude figures, perhaps Albion and Jerusalem, 'assimilating in one' in the cup of the Lily of Havilah (see pl. 18, ll. 40–42). A trial proof, bound in the Morgan copy, shows the woman's right thigh visible parallel to and underneath her left; the man's left leg encircles her body; the moulding of the man's back is clear; a caterpillar is below the figures on the leaf. In the second state, as in copy D, the woman's right thigh and the man's left leg have been removed; only ineffective cross-hatching remains on the man's back; the caterpillar has been removed; the man's genitals are defined. A third state, as in copy F, has the genitals less clearly shown; the leaf below Chap. 2 has been lightened, and the white lines increased on the lower part of the leaf on which the woman's leg extends. The final state, as in copy E and all the posthumous ones, have all indications of the genitals removed; the man's right hand has been eliminated.

29 [43]. Begins: *Then the Divine Vision like a silent Sun.* Nude figures along the right-hand margin.

30 [44]. Begins: *And the Two that escaped.* Above, two figures flying into the arms of a nude man.

31 [45]. Begins: . . . *His western heaven with rocky clouds.* Below, two recumbent female figures; the one on the right is enveloped in a net, the one on the left holds a shuttle and thread in her right hand, and reaches her left hand back between her legs.

32 [46]. Begins: . . . *Leaning against the pillars.* The greater part of the plate is occupied by a group of two women (Vala and Enitharmon) and three girls; the woman on the left is draped, the rest are nude. At the bottom on the left is a dome and a cross, on the right a gothic cathedral.

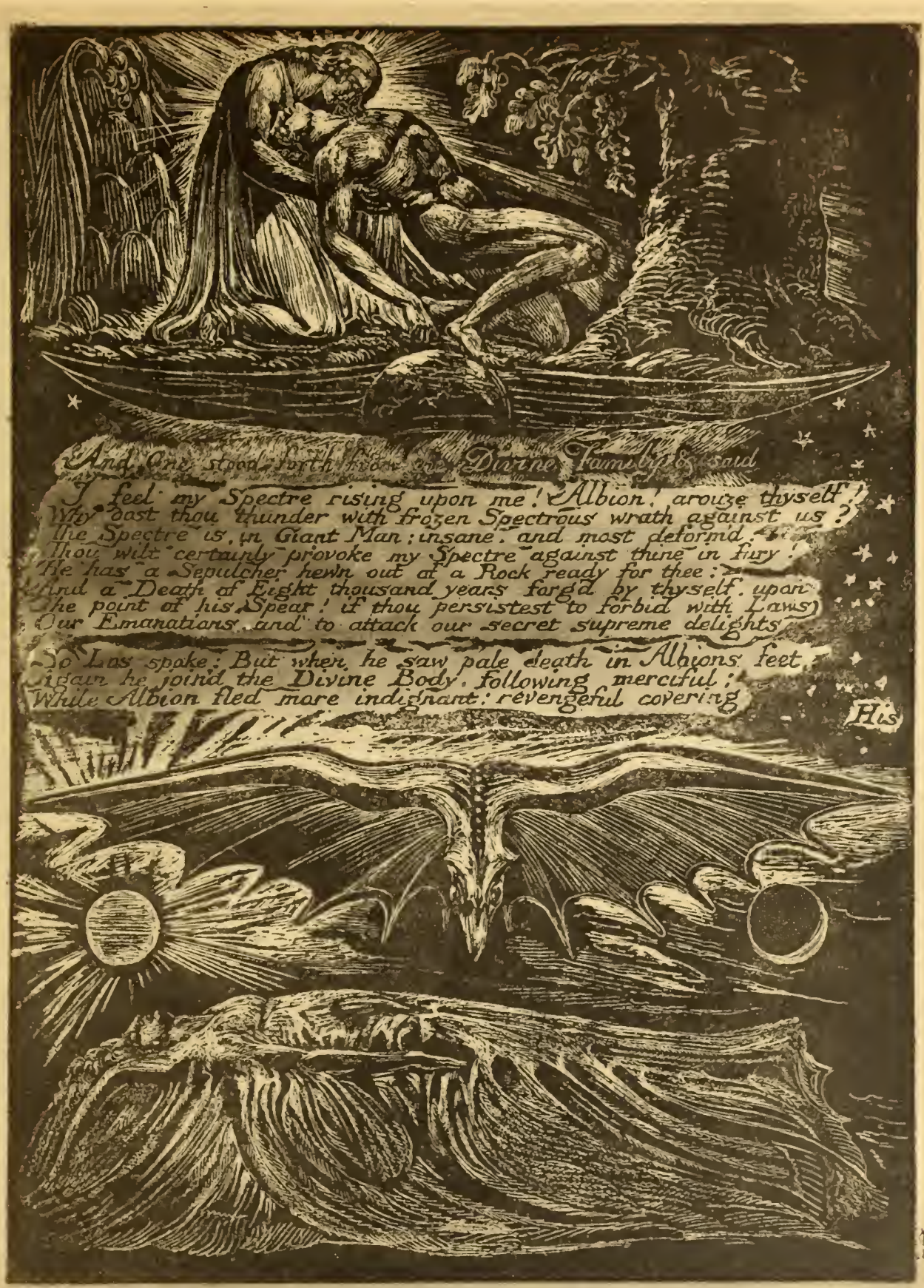
33 [29]. Begins: *Turning his back to the Divine Vision.* Near the centre, an old man ploughing; the plough is drawn by two human-headed lions.

34 [30]. Begins: . . . *Elevate into the Region of Brotherhood.* A small figure and tendrils on the right-hand margin.

35 [31]. Begins: *Then the Divine hand found the Two Limits.* Above, the figure of the Saviour with the stigmata floating in flames and looking downwards; below, Eve rising out of the ribs of the sleeping Adam. The last line has been erased.

36 [32]. Begins: *Reuben returnd to his place, in vain.* At the top, the sun over an anvil between two figures, one shrinking away, the other about to strike the anvil with a sledge-hammer. The thirty-fourth line of text has been erased.

37 [33]. Begins: *And One stood forth from the Divine Family.* Above, Christ kneeling and


And One stood forth from the Divine Family & said
I feel my Spectre rising upon me! Albion! arouze thyself!
Why dost thou thunder with frozen Spectrous wrath against us?
The Spectre is, in Giant Man: insane. and most deformd:
Thou wilt certainly provoke my Spectre against thine in fury!
He has a Sepulcher hewn out of a Rock ready for thee:
And a Death of Eight thousand years forgd by thyself upon
The point of his Spear! if thou persistest to forbid with Laws
Our Emanations and to attack our secret supreme delights.
So Los spake: But when he saw pale death in Albions feet
Again he joind the Divine Body. following merciful:
While Albion fled more indignant: revengeful covering
His

supporting a naked man in his arms; on either side of them a palm and an oak tree, and beneath their feet a winged globe. Below, a winged spectre hovering over a winged woman's body (Jerusalem) lying on a bier; the sun and moon at the sides. The last four words of the first line are incised instead of stereotyped. A trial proof in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes has in the tenth line the words *pale death*, which first state is also found in copy A. In all the other copies these have been altered to *blue death*.

38 [34]. Begins: . . . *His face and bosom with petrific hardness*. Tangled stems and branches extend up either side.

39 [35]. Begins: . . . *By Satans Watch-fiends tho' they search*. Above, an old man with triple bow and arrow astride a winged horse. Below, a setting sun.

40 [36]. Begins: *Los shudder'd at beholding Albion*. Nude figures and tendrils extend up the right-hand margin, and the stem of a tree on the left.

41 [37]. Begins: *Bath who is Legions*. Below, a seated figure with his head bowed between his knees; by his side is a scroll with a four-lined stanza in reversed writing.

42. Begins: *Thus Albion sat, studious of others*. Up the right-hand margin a series of human figures, each standing on the one below. The topmost figure grasps a huge bunch of grapes.

43 [38]. Begins: *They saw their Wheels rising up poisonous*. A small figure and cloudy decorations along the right-hand margin.

44 [39]. Begins: . . . *With one accord in love sublime*. At the top, a winged ark and two angels. Below, a serpent whose tail ends in a tendril with leaves and berries.

45 [40]. Begins: *Bath, healing City!* Above, on the left a figure is enveloped in fibres; a woman floats away holding a net, which is wrapped round the legs of the first figure. Two lines down a big fish devours smaller ones. A trial proof in the Morgan Library, watermarked EDMEADS & PINE 1802, does not contain the last line, which was later added in intaglio lettering, and appears in all complete copies.

46 [41]. Begins: *Bath, mild Physician of Eternity*. Below, two figures, an old man and a woman, seated in a chariot (the Chariot of Time) formed of serpents; the chariot is drawn by two human-headed oxen each with a coiled horn ending in a human hand. Seated on their backs are small winged demons, one holding a pen, the other with wide open mouth (written and oral tradition). Originally numbered 45 on plate.

47. Begins: *From Camberwell to Highgate where the mighty Thames shudders along*. In the middle, three naked figures in contorted attitudes. The first line of the text has been erased from the plate.

48. Begins: *These were his last words, and the merciful Saviour in his arms*. Birds and insects decorate the right-hand margin.

49. Begins: *The secret coverts of Albion & the hidden places of America*. In the right-hand margin is a nude figure standing beside a tree.

50. Begins: *The Atlantic Mountains where Giants dwelt*. Ends: *End of Chap:* 2^{d}. Below, a man with three crowned heads is kneeling among rocks; a chain of figures proceeds from his body.

51. Full-page illustration. Vala, Hyle, and Skofeld. On the left, a seated figure, with robes, crown, and sceptre; in the centre, a naked man squatting with his head bowed between his legs; on the right, a naked man standing with bent head, and with chains hanging from

his wrists. An impression of the plate printed in blue-green ink and painted with water-colours, now in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes, has the names of the figures below each in white line and the signature *W. B. inv.* in the lower left-hand corner. This lettering is present in some copies, though mostly obliterated by heavy inking.

52. *To the Deists.* Begins: *He never can be a Friend to the Human Race.* At the bottom, seven stanzas of four lines each beginning: *I saw a Monk of Charlemaine.*

53. *Jerusalem Chap* 3. Begins: *But Los, who is the Vehicular Form.* Above is a figure, triple-crowned and seated on a throne with a canopy of celestial bodies, in the centre of a great sunflower. Small figures in the right-hand margin below.

54. Begins: *In Great Eternity every particular Form.* Near the centre, a round boulder inscribed *Reason* | *Pity Wrath* | *This World* | *Desire*; on either side of it small floating figures. Below, a fourfold head and five stars; moths flutter over them.

55. Begins: *When those who disregard all Mortal Things.*

56. Begins: *Then Los heaved his thund'ring Bellows on the Valley of Middlesex.*

57. Begins: *And the voices of Bath & Canterbury & York & Edinburgh, Cry.* Above, two naked women among stars; fibres proceed from their hands. Immediately beneath the figures are small buildings inscribed *York* and *London.* Below, a similar figure floating horizontally, and over it a building inscribed *Jerusalem.*

58. Begins: *In beauty the Daughters of Albion divide.* Near the top, the female genital organs with wings. Near the bottom, a skeleton lying among flames.

59. Begins: *And formed into Four precious stones.* In the centre, three women working round a spinning wheel.

60. Begins: *The clouds of Albions Druid Temples.* In the right-hand margin a small figure praying.

61. Begins: *Behold: in the Visions of Elohim Jehovah, behold Joseph & Mary.* Birds in the right-hand margin.

62. Begins: *Repose on me till the morning of the Grave.* The head and hands and the feet of a huge figure in anguish appear at the top and bottom. The head is surrounded by peacock's feathers; there is a small figure between the feet.

63. Begins: *Jehovah stood among the Druids.* In the centre, a naked woman lying on the ground with a worm coiled about her body; a crescent moon is in the sky.

64. Begins: . . . *Of the Mundane Shell which froze.* Above, two floating figures with a scroll beside a figure asleep. Below, an old man lying on the ground with an open book beside him.

65. Begins: *To decide Two Worlds with a great decision.* A chain extends up the right-hand margin.

66. Begins: *In awful pomp & gold, in all the precious unhewn stones of Eden.* Along the right-hand margin extend flames in which is a female figure, seated.

67. Begins: *By those who drink their blood.* Below, a man stretched out on his back, and chained down by his feet, hands, and middle.

68. Begins: *O Skofield why art thou cruel?* No decoration.

69. Begins: *Then all the Males conjoined into One Male.* Below, two figures, one with a knife and a cup, the other with a knife and a scalp, and between them a mutilated victim; moon and stars above them; Druid stones in the background.

70. Begins: *And this the form of mighty Hand.* In the centre, a huge trilithon; three figures are passing under it along a road. A crescent moon is in the sky (cf. *Milton*, pl. 4).

71. Begins: *And above Albions land was seen the Heavenly Canaan.* Near the bottom, a recumbent woman, and a winged spectre with a long neck like a swan's, its beak touching the woman's toes. Tendrils up the right-hand margin.

72. Begins: *And the Thirty-two Counties of the Four Provinces of Ireland.* Near the centre a round boulder inscribed: *Continually Building. Continually Decaying because of Love & Jealousy*, with a weeping angel and flames on each side. At the bottom, a serpent, below which is the line, in reversed writing: *Women the comforters of Men become the Tormentors & Punishers.*

73. Begins: *Such are Cathedrons golden Halls.* Near the centre, Los with his sledge-hammer is kneeling beside an anvil, on which is the sun. He is about to strike the sun. Lines 37 and 42 of the text have been erased from the plate.

74. . . . *The Four Zoa's clouded rage.* Below, a naked man lying on the ground; fibres proceed from his head, hands, and genitals. Two small figures in the right-hand margin.

75. Begins: *And Rahab Babylon the Great.* Near the top, a design of angels within overlapping circles. Below, a seven-headed serpent coiled about two women with crowns. Originally numbered 77 on plate.

76. Full-page illustration. A man worshipping at the foot of a tree, on which is Christ crucified. At the foot of the plate the names *Albion* and *Jesus* in incised lettering can be seen in copies A, B and E. In copies D and E fruits are hanging on the branches of the tree.

77. *To the Christians.* Below the heading, a child holding one end of a long string, and a four-line stanza beginning: *I give you the end of a golden string.* To the left is inscribed: *Devils are False Religions. 'Saul Saul Why persecutest thou me.'* Text begins: *We are told to abstain from fleshly desires.* At the bottom, three four-line stanzas beginning: *England! awake! awake! awake!*

78. *Jerusalem. C* 4. Begins: *The Spectres of Albions Twelve Sons.* Below the heading a man with a bird's head is seated on the right facing a setting sun.

79. Begins: *My tents are fall'n! my pillars are in ruins!* Leaves and birds in the right-hand margin.

80. Begins: *Encompass'd by the frozen Net.* Human figures and coiling worms extend up the right-hand margin.

81. Begins: *I have mock'd those who refused cruelty.* The greater part of the plate is occupied by a group of nude women; on the left is one pointing behind her to a five-line stanza in reversed writing, beginning: *In Heaven the only Art of Living*; another stands before her; behind her are ten others, of some of whom only the heads are seen.

82. Begins: *I have heard Jerusalems groans.* Up the right-hand margin, a winding worm. The second half of l. 47 and the first half of l. 48 have been erased, and also of ll. 67–8.

83. Begins: *Corruptability appears upon thy limbs.* Clouds and two figures in the right-hand margin.

84. Begins: *Highgates heights & Hampsteads.* Below, an old man on crutches is led by a child towards the gate of a cathedral in the background. Lines 17 and 18 of the text have been erased from the plate.

85. Begins: *Became a Space & an Allegory.* Below, a man and a woman with a vine, surrounded by heavenly bodies, including a comet.

86. Begins: *I see thy Form O lovely mild Jerusalem.* No decoration.

87. Begins: *Repelling weeping Enion blind & age-bent.* Above, a woman bent and groping after two smaller floating figures; over her is an aged man, and behind her a phantom form. These figures are within separate spheres indicated by curved lines.

88. Begins: *Los answered sighing like the Bellows of his Furnaces.* No decoration.

89. Begins: *Tho divided by the Cross & Nails & Thorns & Spear.* Two figures extend up the right-hand margin. The upper one is reaching an unidentifiable object down to the lower one.

90. Begins: *The Feminine Separates from the Masculine.* Tendrils in the right-hand margin.

91. Begins: *It is easier to forgive an Enemy.* Below, a man with head thrown back seated between two flower symbols. The first line of text has been erased from the plate.

92. Begins: *What do I see? The Briton Saxon Roman Norman.* In the centre, a woman seated in an attitude of despair; on the ground around her are four heads, and in the background Druid archways; on the right is the name *Jerusalem.*

93. Begins: *Enitharmon heard. She raised her head.* Above, three men kneeling with pointing fingers; on their backs and thighs is inscribed: *Anytus Melitus & Lycon thought Socrates a Very Pernicious Man. So Caiphas thought Jesus.* Below, a woman lying in a fiery grave.

94. Begins: *Albion cold lays on his Rock.* Above, a threefold man supine. Below, a woman lying face downwards on the body of an old man; Druid stones and a sunset glow in the background.

95. Begins: *Her voice pierc'd Albions clay cold ear.* Above, a young man arising among flames, which appear to be consuming a body of which only the legs and feet are seen on the right and the head, vaguely, on the left. Copy E shows a worm at the lower margin.

96. Begins: *As the Sun & Moon lead forward the Visions of Heaven & Earth.* On the right, an old man clasping a woman to his breast as they rise upwards together.

97. Begins: *Awake! Awake Jerusalem!* Below, the vigorous figure of a young man with a globe of light in his left hand. A star and one horn of a crescent moon appear on the right.

98. Begins: *Then each an Arrow flaming from his Quiver.* Above, a serpent; below, various lowly animals—snail, frog, caterpillar, spider, worm and moths.

99. Begins: *All Human Forms identified,* with colophon, *The End of the Song of Jerusalem.* Below, a naked woman is received into the arms of an old man among streaming fire.

100. Full-page illustration. Three naked figures, the central one with hammer and compasses; the figure on the left carries the sun on his shoulder; on the right is a woman with the moon at her side, and with a distaff in her left hand and a thread (seen only in Copy E) passing from it to her right hand. In the background is a chain of Druid arches, i.e. the Serpent Temple, adapted from pl. VIII of Stukeley's *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids,* 1743.

NOTE

Jerusalem is the last and most significant of the series of Blake's Illuminated Books. The theme of this great epic poem is summarized in the lines etched on an early proof of

the frontispiece[1] representing 'Los entering the bosom of Albion'. Los is Imagination, or the Spirit of Prophecy, and Albion the original Man, or the first inhabitant of Britain, typifies England itself. Jerusalem, Albion's emanation or feminine counterpart, was separated from him at the Fall, and the poem *Jerusalem* recounts the story of Albion's regeneration and reunion with Jerusalem, and of his awakening, after the passage through Eternal Death, to Spiritual Freedom. In essence, therefore, *Jerusalem* is the story of Man's recovery of his lost Soul. The story is overlaid with Blake's complicated mythology and a topography combining London with the Bible history. Many passages of splendid poetry are thus buried in an extremely obscure matrix. The best exposition is to be found in Joseph Wicksteed's Introduction and Commentary issued as a supplement to the facsimile of *Jerusalem* published by the William Blake Trust in 1953.

Jerusalem is a large quarto volume, measuring about 33 × 27 cm., and consists of a hundred plates printed on one side of the leaf only. The title-page is dated 1804, but this is evidently the year in which Blake began the work. None of the six copies that are known can have been printed before 1818, and the book was probably not finished until this date. All the copies issued by Blake are printed on Whatman paper with dates varying from 1818 to 1826. Four of them are printed in black and are uncoloured. (A fifth copy, G, printed in black, is said to exist, but it has not been seen for many years, and it has never been described.) One copy, E, is printed in orange on paper dated 1820, and is very beautifully painted with water-colours and gold. It was probably this copy of which Blake wrote in 1827 to George Cumberland: 'The last work I produced is a poem entitled *Jerusalem, The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, but find that to print it will cost my time the amount of Twenty Guineas. One I have Finish'd. It contains 100 plates, but it is not likely I shall get a Customer for it.'[2] Blake did not, in fact, find a customer for it, and it seems to have passed with his other effects to Frederick Tatham. It has usually been assumed, on the authority of this remark by Blake, that only one coloured copy of the work has ever existed, but I [G.K.] was informed by a bookseller, the late James Tregaskis, that another coloured copy was sold by him to Ruskin about fifty-five years ago. In 1920, Mr Arthur Severn, then the owner of Ruskin's library, stated that he had a distinct recollection of there having been such a book in the collection, but that he believed Ruskin cut it up. A collection of miscellaneous water-colour drawings, which was at one time deposited in the British Museum Print Room, contained some exquisitely coloured fragments, which had evidently been cut from leaves of a copy of *Jerusalem*, and these may possibly be some surviving evidence of Ruskin's extraordinary act of destruction.[3] The example of the design cut from the top of pl. 28, and painted with water colours, with the corresponding part of pl. 29 on the verso, may be a portion of Ruskin's copy. This is now in the possession of the Rosenbach Company. Other separate leaves coloured by Blake, each with a plate

[1] Sold with the W. B. Scott collection at Sotheby's, April 20 1885 (lot 65, Fawcett, 11*s*.); now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes. Reproduced with the facsimile of copy C of *Jerusalem* published for the William Blake Trust, 1953.

[2] *Poetry and Prose* (ed. Keynes, 1939), p. 927.

[3] There is evidence that Ruskin was in the habit of cutting to pieces illuminated MSS., however valuable, that were in his possession. See Catalogue of Fourteen Illuminated Manuscripts, the property of Henry Yates Thompson, Sotheby's, 22 June 1921, pl. 148.

printed on both sides, are in the British Museum Print Room (pls. 53 and 5) and the Victoria and Albert Museum (pls. 9 and 11). Three other leaves, each printed and coloured on both sides, were formerly in the possession of H. Buxton Forman.[1] Another leaf, from the Linnell[2] collection, shows stitch-holes near the left-hand margin, and the plate printed on it is numbered 51, but there is no evidence to show that this was taken from a complete coloured example of the book; more probably Blake took this leaf from an uncoloured copy of the book, which he had been unable to sell, and coloured it, as a specimen, for John Linnell. Another coloured example of pl. 51 was in the Graham Robertson collection, and now belongs to Geoffrey Keynes.[3] This print shows the names of the three characters portrayed, Vala, Hyle, and Skofield, in incised lettering with Blake's signature. Proofs exist (three in the Morgan Library, one in the Rosenwald Collection) on paper watermarked EDMEADS & PINE 1802. This is not necessarily evidence that Blake began to etch the plates as early as this; more probably he was using up older paper.

An incomplete coloured copy consisting of the first twenty-five plates has recently come to light, and is described under copy B. The history of this is known from 1833, so that it cannot be another remnant of Ruskin's copy.

The text of *Jerusalem* is etched throughout in italic, but the lettering is not uniform in size, as might be expected in a work the execution of which extended over some fourteen years. In all the complete copies some words and passages on pl. 3, *To the Public*, have been erased; a few lines, however, quoted by Swinburne (*Critical Essay*, 1868, p. 284), have the gaps filled up, but it is not known whether the missing words were supplied by Swinburne, or whether he had access to a copy in which they had been filled in by Blake. It has been possible to decipher a number of the missing words from the posthumous copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and these have been incorporated in the Nonesuch text of Blake's writings, 1925 and 1927. The inscriptions erased from the frontispiece in all copies of the book can be seen on an early proof of the plate, and have been published in Keynes's *Blake Studies*, 1949.

Most of the plates are not numbered on the copper but the books were foliated by Blake at the top right-hand corner. Some plates seem to have been numbered in white line or relief, but the numbers were changed as the book developed, and were erased or inked over in the completed copies.

The arrangement of the plates does not vary except in chapter 2 which was re-arranged after copies A and C had been completed. The order here adopted as a standard is that found in copies D, E, and F. The plates were in existence after Blake's death, and three posthumous copies of the book, presumably printed by Tatham, are recorded below.

Jerusalem is not mentioned in the list of works offered by Blake in 1818, but a contemporary reference to it is to be found in the *London Magazine* for September 1820. Crabb Robinson has recorded that on 24 July 1811, Blake showed Southey 'a perfectly mad poem called Jerusalem'.[4]

[1] Sold with the Buxton Forman Library at the Anderson Galleries, New York, 15 March 1920 (lot 67, G. D. Smith, $610). In 1925 in the possession of Arthur F. Egner, New Jersey, U.S.A.

[2] Sold with the Linnell collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 518, Martin, 70 guineas).

[3] Sold at Christie's, 22 July 1949 (lot 83, Keynes, 44 guineas).

[4] *Diary and Reminiscences*, i, 338.

Jerusalem

Copies

A [B] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1818, 1819, or 1820. Printed in black. Uncoloured except for occasional grey water-colour washes. Foliated by Blake 1–100 in black ink. Arrangement: 1–28, 33–41, 43–46, 42, 29–32, 47–100 (as in copy C). Pl. 37 is in the earlier state. Size: 32·5 × 27 cm. Bound in half morocco, g.e.

Now in the British Museum Print Room, having been purchased from Messrs Evans in 1847.

B* 25 plates on 25 leaves, Watermark J WHATMAN 1818, on six leaves. Printed in red-brown, and painted with water-colour washes. Consists of the first twenty-five plates, foliated by Blake 1–25. Arranged as above. On plate 11 some letters and words of the text are picked out in black. On plate 19 the small recumbent figure seen in the Stirling copy below the large recumbent figure is absent. The frontispiece faces the title-page, but stitch-holes in the free edge show that Blake placed it the other way. Size about 37·5 × 25 cm. In a roxburghe binding, with *America*, copy G and *Europe*, copy B.

Now in the possession of Lord Cunliffe. For history see *America*, copy G.

C [A] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1818, 1819, or 1820. Printed in black. Several plates touched up with sepia and chinese white, and on pl. 16 there is some green tinting; otherwise uncoloured. Foliated by Blake 1–100 in black ink. Arrangement: 1–28, 33–41, 43–46, 42, 29–32, 47–100. Size: 32 × 25 cm. Bound in vellum.

John Linnell's copy, sold with his collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 194, Edwards, £89).[1] Acquired by the late Frank Rinder, London, and now in the possession of Mrs Rinder and Mrs Ramsay Harvey.

Exhib.: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1927, no. 88; Paris, Brussels, Zurich, Tate Gallery, 1947, no. 41.

D [C] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1820, on 21 leaves, namely, 4, 7, 8, 22, 23, 30, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 60, 61, 68, 72, 83, 84, 90, 99, 100. Printed in black with a single framing line round each plate. Heightened with black or grey water-colour washes, otherwise uncoloured. Foliated by Blake 1–100. Arranged as above. Size: 33·8 × 26·8 cm. Unbound and matted.

Early history unknown. Formerly in the collection of E. W. Hooper, who bequeathed it to his daughter, Mrs Ward Thoron, of Boston, who gave it in 1941 to the Harvard College Library in memory of her father. Inserted in this copy is a note by E. W. Hooper stating that it was used for the Pearson facsimile of 1877.

Exhib.: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1891, no. 8; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 113.

[1] There is a receipt of 30 December 1819 for fourteen shillings for the second chapter of *Jerusalem*, sold to Linnell, in Yale University Library. It may refer to this copy, sold chapter by chapter, or to odd plates specially coloured for Linnell.

E [D] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1820. Printed in orange. Very beautifully and elaborately coloured with water-colours and gold. Foliated by Blake 1–100. Arranged as above. Size: 33·5 × 27·5 cm. Bound in green morocco, with clasps, together with the MS., on twelve leaves, of Tatham's life of Blake. Bound with the MS. are a portrait of Mrs Blake by George Richmond after Tatham, and drawings of Blake by Tatham at the ages of 28 and 69.

Frederick Tatham's copy, to whom it passed with Blake's other effects after his wife's death. It was sold at Christie's[1] on 1 June 1887 (lot 225, Quaritch, £166), and was acquired by General Archibald Stirling of Keir. Afterwards in the possession of his son, Lt.-Col. William Stirling, who sold it in 1952 through Scribner's to Paul Mellon, Washington, D.C. The book was bought for presentation to Yale University Library and it is now in the Rare Book Department.

F [E] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1824, on four leaves, and J WHATMAN 1826, on nineteen leaves. Printed in black. Uncoloured, except for touches of grey wash and some Chinese white. Foliated in ink by Blake 1–100. Arranged as above, but with Blake's numbering as follows: 1–28, 43–46, 29–37, 42, 38–41, 47–100. With proofs of pls. 28, 45, and 56, all watermarked EDMEADS & PINE 1802, bound in. Size: 37·2 × 27·2 cm. Bound in red straight-grain morocco, t.e.g., other edges untrimmed, by F. Bedford.

Formerly in the possession of James Toovey, the London bookseller, with his book-plate, and bought from his son, Charles J. Toovey, in 1899 by J. Pierpont Morgan. Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 114.

G [F] Copy said to be formerly in the possession of Felix Isman, New York. Printed in black and uncoloured. It was reported on 2 March 1939, to be 'somewhere in storage and difficult to locate'. Since then Mr Isman died, and no further word of the volume can be obtained.

[*Posthumous copies*]

H [G] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831 or 1832. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. No foliation. Size: 28·5 × 23 cm. Bound in contemporary morocco, elaborately tooled, g.e. Probably the copy from the library of Francis Bedford, the book-binder, sold at Sotheby's, 21 March 1884 (lot 120, Quaritch, £5. 12*s*. 6*d*.). Afterwards Samuel Boddington's copy, with his book-plate. Sold at Sotheby's, November 1895. Acquired by Charles Fairfax Murray, and presented by him in 1912 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

I [H] 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831 or 1832, on twenty-five leaves. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. Numbered in pencil. Arranged as above. Plate maker's mark clearly visible on one plate. Size: 28·8 × 23·5 cm. Bound in red morocco, g.e., by Leighton, with the Milnes crest on the front cover.

[1] Usually stated to have been included in the Cosier library, but reference to the sale catalogue shows that it was sold by another anonymous owner.

Formerly in the collection of Thomas Butts, and sold at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 57, R. Monckton Milnes, £10. 15*s*.). Inherited by the Earl of Crewe, and sold by him at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903 (lot 15, Quaritch, £83). Then acquired by William A. White, and sold to Rosenbach with other Blake items in 1929. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 32; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 115.

J* 100 plates on 100 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1831, on twenty-four leaves. Printed in red-brown. Uncoloured. Pl. 16 is missing, and pl. 20 is in duplicate. Size: 30·25 × 24·25 cm., uncut. Bound in half russia (contemporary) with lettering piece on side.

There is no indication of provenance before 1928. Offered for sale by C. J. Sawyer Ltd., 12 Grafton Street, in June 1928. Afterwards in the Cortlandt Bishop library, sold by the American Art Association, 5 April 1938 (lot 280, Sessler, $2700). Now in the collection of Charles J. Rosenbloom, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: Pearson, 1877, from copy D; EY, iii, reduced; The William Blake Trust, 1951, from copy E in colour; ditto, from copy C, 1953.

ON HOMER'S POETRY [and] ON VIRGIL [about 1818–22]

Description

A single plate, 11·5 × 10 cm.; relief etching; uncoloured.

Contents

23 lines of prose, headed *On Homer's Poetry*, and beginning: *Every Poem must necessarily be a perfect Unity*, followed by 15 lines of prose, headed *On Virgil*, and beginning: *Sacred Truth has pronounced.* To the left of the second heading a man plays a harp, as four figures stand beside a tree; to the right roots or flames come down; there are amorphous figures dividing the text on Virgil, and flames at the bottom.

Note

This leaflet is one of the publications called by Gilchrist Blake's 'Sibylline Leaves'. It reflects his feeling of disappointment in classical art, and his belief in the congruence of true Christianity and true art. Some of the opinions expressed in it are the same as are found engraved in *Laocöon*, which is referred to in the sixth line of *On Homer's Poetry*, and probably belongs to about the years 1817–18; in both of them occurs the same reference to Virgil's *Aeneid*, Bk. vi. l. 348. The plate is also similar in character to those of *The Ghost of Abel*, which is dated 1822. *On Homer's Poetry* seems, therefore, to belong to the period 1818–22, but it is not yet possible to assign to it a more accurate date. Six copies are known, four of which are located. They are all printed in black on paper which bears no watermark, and are uncoloured.

Copies

A No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 28·9 × 23·4 cm. Unbound, in half green morocco case.

Probably from the collection of Thomas Butts. Afterwards in the possession of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, and sold by his son, the Earl of Crewe, at Sotheby's, 30 March 1903, together with *The Ghost of Abel*, copy A, and the engraving known as 'Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour' (lot 8, Quaritch, £43). Then acquired by William A. White, and sold with other Blake books to Rosenbach in 1929. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 37b.

B No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 34 × 24·5 cm. Matted, unbound.

John Linnell's copy. Sold with his collection at Christie's, 15 March 1918, together with *The Ghost of Abel*, copy B, and the engraving *Laocöon* (lot 199, Quaritch, 36 guineas). Now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

C Similar to copy B.

Also in the Linnell collection, but not included in the sale. Present location unknown.

D No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 33 × 23 cm. Bound in half red morocco, with *The Ghost of Abel*, copy D.

Formerly in the collection of B. B. Macgeorge of Glasgow. Sold with his library at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 126, Quaritch, £50). Offered for sale by Quaritch in November 1924 for £75. Acquired by Allan R. Brown, and given by him to Trinity College, Hartford.

Exhib.: Philadelphia, 1939, no. 126.

E No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 31 × 21·5 cm. In cloth case.

Formerly in the possession of George Smith, and bound up by him with other miscellaneous Blake items in a volume containing Cunningham's *Life of William Blake.* Sold with his library at Christie's, April 1880 (£66). Offered in Quaritch's General Catalogue, 1887 (no. 10252, £80). Then acquired through William Muir by B. B. Macgeorge, of Glasgow, and sold with his collection at Sotheby's, 1 July 1924 (lot 133, Parsons, £345). Purchased by George C. Smith, Jr., who broke up the volume, and *On Homer's Poetry* was sold with his collection at Parke-Bernet, 2 November 1938 (lot 39, Gannon, $260). Not traced.

F No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 34·5 × 24·2 cm., untrimmed. Matted, unbound.

Originally in a volume of miscellaneous prints by Blake from the collection of Henry White. For history, see *Thel*, copy A. Now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Facsimile reproductions: William Muir, 1886; EY, iii.

The GHOST OF ABEL | A Revelation In the Visions of Jehovah | Seen by William Blake.

Colophon: 1822, W Blakes Original Stereotype was 1788

DESCRIPTION

2 plates about 16·5 × 12·5 cm.; relief etching; uncoloured.

CONTENTS

1. Heading, *The Ghost of Abel*, etc.; begins: *To Lord Byron in the Wilderness.* In the spaces left blank at the beginning and end of the lines of text are many small figures, among which may be made out scenes representing the expulsion from Eden, Cain fleeing from the body of Abel, the Serpent, Adam and Eve under a fruitful tree, a reclining man seeing a vision, Adam and Eve under a barren tree, the figure of Abel bowed but radiant, and a Druidic sacrifice.

2. Begins: *Alive & not Dead: were it not better to believe Vision.* Along the left-hand margin are small figures, including Adam and Eve under the tree on which coils the serpent; below, Adam, naked except for a skin about his middle, is stretched out in grief upon Abel's body, while above them floats a figure inscribed: *The Voice of Abel's Blood.* At the bottom is the colophon.

NOTE

This short dramatic piece was included by Gilchrist among the so-called 'Sibylline Leaves'. It is in the form of a dramatic scene, placed by Blake in *A rocky Country. Eve fainted over the dead body of Abel which lays near a Grave. Adam kneels by her. Jehovah stands above.* The speakers are Jehovah, Adam, Eve, The Voice of Abel's Blood, and Satan. At the end: *On each side a Chorus of Angels entering sing the following*, which consist of five lines of blank verse. Finally, *The Curtain falls.*

The short work was dedicated *To Lord Byron in the Wilderness*, having been obviously evoked by the appearance of Byron's startling *Cain, A Mystery.* Blake recognized in Byron one who believed with him in the forces of creative energy, though contrary to accepted morality. In *The Ghost of Abel* Blake shows the paradox in the conflict of forces of true good and evil which followed upon the shedding of Abel's blood. It is the struggle between materialism, the first death, the cry by the Ghost of Abel for vengeance, and the religion which should grant it on the one hand, and the world of the spirit, immortality, the saving power of Jesus, and a religion which would transcend the earth on the other.

The date 1788 in the colophon evidently refers, as was first pointed out by Sampson, to Blake's earliest use of his relief-etching process in the illuminated books, and not to a previous issue of *The Ghost of Abel.* Damon none the less hypothecates an unpublished early manu-

script, in spite of his acceptance of the role of Jehovah in this text, where he is not synonymous with Urizen but with Jesus, an interpretation reached by Blake late in his life. The short drama is more likely to have been both written and etched in 1822.

Only four copies of the work are known. They are uniform in appearance, all printed in black and uncoloured. Two have watermarks in the paper dated 1820 and 1821. Of Blake's friends and contemporaries only Thomas Butts (copy A) and John Linnell (copies B and C) seem to have owned examples. Blake himself does not refer to it.

COPIES

A 2 plates on 2 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1821, on one leaf. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 28·9 × 23·4 cm. Unbound, in half green morocco case.

From the collection of Thomas Butts. Sold with his library at Sotheby's, 26 March 1852 (lot 55, R. Monckton Milnes, £2). Afterwards in the collection of the Earl of Crewe, where it was joined with *On Homer's Poetry*, copy A, *q.v.* for history. Now in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Exhib.: Grolier Club, 1905, no. 371 a; Philadelphia, 1939, no. 127.

B 2 plates on 2 leaves. No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 34·5 × 24·5 cm. Matted, unbound.

John Linnell's copy. Associated with *On Homer's Poetry*, copy B, *q.v.* for history. Now in the possession of Geoffrey Keynes.

Exhib.: Nat. Gall. 1913, no. 103; Manchester, 1914, no. 93; B.F.A.C. 1927, no. 90.

C 2 plates on 2 leaves. No watermark. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 34·5 × 24·2 cm. Unbound, in green morocco folder.

Formerly in John Linnell's possession, and sold with his library at Christie's, 15 March 1918 (lot 200, Edwards, £29. 8*s.*). Acquired by Col. Henry D. Hughes, and sold with his collection at American Art Association, 22 April 1924 (lot 70, James F. Drake, $400). Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

D 2 plates on 2 leaves. Watermark J WHATMAN 1820. Printed in black. Uncoloured. Size: 34 × 23 cm. Bound in half red morocco, together with *On Homer's Poetry*, copy D.

For history, see *On Homer's Poetry*, copy D. Now at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS: E.Y. ii; pl. 2 in Keynes's *Bibliography*, 1921.

NOTE

The unexpected discovery of the missing plates of *There is No Natural Religion* after the sheets of the book had been printed off necessitated the reprinting of the first sheet of the text, pp. 1–8. The rearrangement has thrown out several of the index references by one page, but this was not thought to be of enough importance to warrant the reprinting of the index sheet as well.

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